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**Sarah Victoria Buxton**

**PhD**

**Saints George, Sebastian, and Eustace in Medieval Castilian Prose  
Hagiography**

**Submitted February 2010**

This thesis explores the legends of Saints George, Sebastian, and Eustace as presented in five fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts of the corpus of Castilian prose hagiography known as Compilation B. Chapter One provides an introduction to the thematic and codicological contexts of the legends, asking whether it is possible to identify unifying literary or conceptual features. An analysis of the prehistory of the accounts is presented in Chapter Two, which explores how they were reworked into Castilian from their Latin forms in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (ca. 1260). Chapter Three presents codicological, textual, and palaeographic studies of each manuscript in order to establish hypotheses of textual affiliation. The second half of the thesis offers a thematic and conceptual analysis of the three legends. Chapter Four looks at the tension between knighthood and martyrdom in representations of George, exploring the rich interpretations that are made possible by the juxtaposition of the secular and the religious. Chapter Five examines the nature of social relationships and interweaving narrative strands in the legend of Sebastian in order to assess the use of multiple protagonists. Finally, Chapter Six considers the use of symbolism and typology in the account of Eustace, identifying and exploring the wide range of traditions from which the account draws. The conclusion draws attention to the importance of studying each text both independently and as part of a wider hagiographic and literary discourse. In an appendix, I provide complete editions of each text, presented here for the first time, along with critical apparatus and sample xeroxes of the manuscripts.

PhD

Saints George, Sebastian,  
and Eustace in Medieval  
Castilian Prose  
Hagiography

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Submission date: February 2010



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# Chapter One

## Introduction

Depictions of sanctity in medieval Castilian literature are common yet complex. They occur in a variety of forms and genres, from hagiography to epic and chronicle, from drama to lyric or courtly poetry. The conceptual frameworks and imagery on which a saint's life are built provide a literary fabric from which readers and writers take inspiration, delight, and edification. They also furnish a unique view of hierarchy, and of the meaning and value of life, which makes their interplay with less devotional texts all the more fascinating in their capacity for deepened significance, and even irony.

A nuanced understanding of other genres in medieval Castilian literature is predicated on a knowledge of sanctity, and all of the structures of power that it embraces. Consequently, the lack of systematic scholarship dedicated to this area is alarming. Critics have embraced the work of Gonzalo de Berceo, and some other works, such as the legends of Mary of Egypt or Alexis.<sup>1</sup> Vernacular prose saints' lives, however, mostly remain undisturbed in manuscript form, making comparative work either within the genre or with other narrative or lyric forms at best restricted and inconclusive.

This thesis marks an attempt to bring part of the vast hagiographic corpus to critical attention, and in particular, to examine the importance of a group of saints' lives in a family of manuscripts. With so much work still to do, three legends have been chosen that are connected by similarities between the protagonists, and in which the supernatural or legendary (in the modern sense of the word) dimension is brought to the fore.<sup>2</sup> It is also

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<sup>1</sup> As a starting point, see the exhaustive editions of Dutton (1992), Alvar (1970-72), and Vega (1991).

<sup>2</sup> In the context of this thesis, the word 'legend' primarily refers to the medieval sense of an account. For the changing implications of the word, see Reames (1985: 61).

intended to be one of the first steps towards an understanding of representations of male sanctity as represented by the largest corpus of extant literature in medieval Castilian other than legal texts.

Furthermore, in examining three legends that have strong links to concepts important in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Castilian literature, such as soldiering, the nature of the knight, and the roles of female characters and families, to name but a few, it will supply scholars of secular medieval Castilian literature with a useful starting-point for including hagiography in their own considerations. Any dialogue between students of secular and religious contemporary writing will permit mutual benefit through a raised awareness of context, and may shed new light on issues that were thought exhausted.

### Jacobus de Voragine and Medieval Castilian Hagiography

The majority of prose medieval Castilian saints' lives are reworkings of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (ca. 1260), a Latin compendium of hagiography that was phenomenally popular for over two centuries. The work was designed to take the reader through the liturgical year, and comprised discussions of feast days as well as narratives concerning individuals or groups of saints. Much of the critical attention towards it focuses on its incredible popularity and subsequent fall from grace, or on the aesthetic capabilities of its author.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Twin articles by Robert Francis Seybolt (1946a and 1946b) provide statistical analyses of the popularity of the *Legenda aurea* based on the number of editions published. Sherry L. Reames (1985) delves further into reasons behind the meteoric rise and drastic fall from popularity, examining in particular historical circumstances and debates concerning the *Legenda's* merit, while offering a comparison of its writing style with other hagiography. Other important studies on the topic include Alain Boureau's book on the narrative and structure of Voragine (1984) and co-translation of the *Legenda* into modern French (Boureau et al 2004), and collections of essays on the topic such as the one edited by Fleith & Morenzoni (2001). Of interest to scholars in the Hispanic medieval context is Billy Bussell Thompson's article on the reception of Jacobus de Voragine in the Iberian peninsula (1990), as well as introductory studies to editions, such as those by Baños Vallejo & Uría Maqua (2000: 29-50) or Beresford (2007a: 63-90 and 2007b: 28-44).

Comprising 182 readings in modern editions, the *Legenda aurea* is a comprehensive work that guides the faithful through the Christian landmarks of the year. Giovanni Paulo Maggioni (2001) argues that it was composed in two separate stages: first in the 1260s, then revised up until Voragine's death in 1298 and afterwards. The nature of this process of rewriting makes it difficult to define the corpus, both because of the changes that Voragine himself made, and because it was conceived as a work that continued its development after his death. Furthermore, as there are over eight hundred surviving manuscripts in Latin alone, the task of creating an intelligible critical edition is close to impossible (Reames 1985: 4).

Problems of defining the *Legenda aurea* are further complicated by the absence of a clear textual purpose. Its name gives few clues; in the Middle Ages it was known as the *Historia lombardica* or simply the *Legenda sanctorum*. Unlike contemporary lectionaries, such as those by Bartholomew of Trent or Jean de Mailly, Voragine has not added a detailed explanatory prologue, although the general aim of understanding saints in order to celebrate their lives and educate others in Christian doctrine are evidently applicable.<sup>4</sup> Alain Boureau makes the point that the lack of textual evidence makes it difficult to delve into Voragine's agenda more than the basic facts would allow. He also highlights the notion that the very success of the *Legenda aurea* permitted its development along various lines: as a collection of documents of historical value; as a private text for both clerical and lay use; as suitable refectory reading; and as a luxury item (Boureau et al 2004: XXVIII-XXX, XXXIII).

The medieval Castilian version of the *Legenda aurea* is no less mysterious. Comprising at least twelve codices, in at least two separate reworkings, the sometimes fragmentary texts suggest a sustained attempt to reproduce and enhance Jacobus de Voragine's work in a northern Iberian context. In 1986-87, Billy Bussell Thompson and John K. Walsh published

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<sup>4</sup> The prologue to the *Legenda aurea* mainly consists of an explanation of the liturgical order and structure of the work, and how each fresh year mirrors Christian spiritual history.

the first serious attempt to categorise these manuscripts into two families. They distinguish between texts belonging to a group they call Compilation A, and those belonging to Compilation B (18, 22n1). They also identify the ‘apparently independent’ Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid 10252 and Escorial h–I–13 (22n1, 22n3).<sup>5</sup>

Compilation A comprises Biblioteca Nacional 12688, Biblioteca Nacional 12689, Biblioteca Nacional 780, Escorial h–III–22, and Escorial h–II–18. The manuscripts are fifteenth-century copies of earlier originals, and Thompson and Walsh suggest that the earliest date possible for their composition is the second half of the fourteenth century (1986-87: 20). Where their readings derive from the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, Compilation A generally provides a comprehensive translation of the Latin, including the doctrinal and etymological material that regularly precedes and ends each saint’s life. This information is commonly omitted from Compilation B, along with other theological details embedded within the narratives. Furthermore, Compilation A presents nearly all of the readings in Voragine.<sup>6</sup> However, the manuscripts themselves are fragmentary. As no

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<sup>5</sup> Escorial h–I–13 has recently been edited by John K. Moore under the title of the *Libro de los huéspedes* (2008), and by Carina Zubillaga (2008). The interest of the codex lies in its compositional structure, mingling hagiographic and romance texts translated from Old French, and blurring the boundaries of genre in its thematic cohesiveness. The legend of Eustace (fols 23<sup>va</sup>–32<sup>ra</sup>) is one of nine narratives, and is also the subject of Roger M. Walker’s book on the topic (1982). The compositional structure of Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid 10252, attested in the table of contents and its choice of legends deriving from sources other than the *Legenda aurea*, is fascinating and mysterious (Deyerdmond 1990b: 142–43, Schiff 1970: 247–58). Sadly, it is now fragmentary, and has not yet been edited in its entirety. It contains the legends of George at fols 112<sup>va</sup>–16<sup>vb</sup> and Sebastian at fols 72<sup>vb</sup>–81<sup>vb</sup> and 93<sup>ra</sup>–96<sup>rb</sup>. Where the reading for Sebastian follows the basic narrative pattern used by Voragine, albeit greatly expanded, the George legend is significantly different from that of the Compilation A and B texts, and is the subject of Buxton (in preparation). Other studies based on this manuscript include Schiff (1970: 252–58), Connolly (1990), Johnson (1993), and Prince (1993).

<sup>6</sup> Twenty-one legends recorded by Voragine are not present in Compilation A. These are Sophia and her Three Daughters (48), Timothy (52), the Virgin of Antioch (62), Fabian (64), Apollonia (66), Boniface (71), Alexis (94), James the Greater (99), Christopher (100), the Seven Sleepers (101), Nazarius and Celsus (102), Pope Felix (103), Simplicius

single reading is attested in all five codices, comparisons between them are often indirect, and consequently problematic.

Although the coverage of Voragine's work as represented by Compilation A presents its own unique challenge, the readings of Compilation B, the family with which this thesis is concerned, further develop the material of the *Legenda aurea*, both abridging and expanding the Latin legends. Such changes suggest an agenda on the part of the scribe, and a set of needs specific to the time, although few codicological or textual clues remain to answer these questions in any detail.

Thompson and Walsh (1986-87: 22n1) list the manuscripts in Compilation B as Escorial h-I-14, Escorial K-II-12, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419 (and its eighteenth-century relative Biblioteca Nacional 5548), Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo 8, and Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo 9.<sup>7</sup> However, they seem hesitant to place another manuscript, Escorial M-II-6, in this group despite being aware of its existence; they had edited a portion of it for their edition of the Life of Saint Mary of Egypt (1977). It is clear that these codices form part of the same textual tradition. As they present readings from five of the six medieval manuscripts in the Compilation, the legends for George, Sebastian, and Eustace are an ideal means of examining the codices as an affiliated group.<sup>8</sup>

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and Faustinus (104), Martha (105), Abdon and Sennen (106), Bishop Germain (107), the Holy Maccabees (109), Peter in Chains (110), Stephen (111), the Finding of Stephen (112), and Saturninus and Companions (173). The proximity of these omitted legends, particularly those of James to the Finding of Stephen (with the exception of reading 108, Eusebius), could indicate a lacuna in the archetype for Compilation A, especially as most of these are attested in Compilation B. However, the fragmentary nature of Compilation A codices makes it much more likely that the lacuna is due to loss rather than omission, as all of the manuscripts conclude their coverage of the readings before James the Greater, or begin after the Finding of Stephen.

<sup>7</sup> Hereafter termed Escorial h-I-14, Escorial K-II-12, FLG 419, BNM 5548, BMP 8, and BMP 9 respectively.

<sup>8</sup> BMP 8 does not contain a reading for any of the three legends. The feasts of Sebastian (20 January) and Eustace (20 September) fall outside the scope of the manuscript's content, which broadly runs through the liturgical-sanctoral cycle from the feast of the Chair of Peter (22 February) until the Assumption (14 August). The omission of George



The range of approaches to source material in Compilation B shows greater diversity than Compilation A. The lack of uniformity in strategy makes it harder to reconstruct and articulate the relationships between the manuscripts. Each codex presents a reading that has been modified to the point where an all-encompassing critical edition becomes almost meaningless. However, despite difficulties of edition, the diversity of Compilation B is one of its most intriguing aspects.

In order to disentangle the process of reworking that occurred in translation, Chapter Two takes the Latin origins as a starting point, focussing on the omissions, additions, and modifications that were made across the Compilation. Here, I identify the features of the legends that were already present in the sources, and highlight those which were produced or modified upon adaptation. This broad survey functions as a preface to Chapter Three, which continues to examine this process of change with a close eye on the relationships between the manuscripts and their possible affiliation. I also provide detailed descriptions of the codices and an examination of textual differences. This leads to a consideration of whether it is possible to devise a *stemma* in order to articulate these relationships. The conclusions of these two chapters justify the choices made in the editorial process, such as choice of the base text.

### **Military Saints: A Common Ethos?**

The legends of George, Sebastian, and Eustace have more in common than coexistence in a family of manuscripts. A summary of the content of each may prove useful at this point to highlight some of their shared characteristics.

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(23 April) is more puzzling, but as the legend of Ambrose that immediately precedes it is also missing, it may point to a lacuna in BMP 8's ancestry. The other reason for not altering my choice of legends to include a sample from BMP 8 is the fact that it is the only manuscript in the Compilation to have been edited in its entirety (Baños Vallejo & Uría Maqua 2000), and therefore more accessible than the others.

*Saint George*

A city plagued by a dragon casts lots to decide who should be sacrificed to its appetite. When the lot falls to the king's only daughter, he tries unsuccessfully to evade his duty. Dressing her as a queen and lamenting her loss, he takes her to the lake where the dragon lives. George finds her there and asks her story, and she exhorts him to flee for his life. He refuses to leave until she explains. When the dragon appears, George arms himself with the sign of the cross and mortally wounds it. He uses the princess' girdle to bring it tamely to the city, where he kills it as the town converts to Christianity. Refusing the rewards he is offered, he instructs them in Christian ways and departs.

Later, encountering a wave of persecution under Diocletian and Maximian and their provincial governor Dacianus, George exchanges his secular garb for that of a Christian and proclaims his faith publicly. His first torture consists of being cut open and salt rubbed into the wounds, which he bears by grace of a visitation from Christ. Dacianus then employs a magician to poison him, but he drinks the potion to no ill effect, and instead the magician is converted and martyred. Further tortures include being set on a wheel of knives (which breaks), and being boiled in a bath of molten lead (which becomes as palatable as a warm bath). Adopting another tactic, Dacianus attempts to cajole George into doing his will, but inadvertently gives him an opportunity to enter the pagan temple and pray for its miraculous and immediate destruction. Dacianus, desperate, complains to his wife Alexandria, to find that she too has converted to Christianity. He subsequently has her martyred. George is eventually dragged through the city and beheaded. A posthumous miracle relates the tale of his relics, which cannot be moved from a wayside church in which their carriers rested.

*Saint Sebastian*

Sebastian is a high-ranking military official at the court of Diocletian and Maximian, although he covertly uses his rank to visit other Christians in prison. Meanwhile, the twin brothers Marcellian and Marcus are wavering in

their decision to be martyred, and their mother, father, and wives attempt to change their minds. Hearing of this, Sebastian gives an impassioned speech on the vanity of earthly life and the worth of the life to come, thus strengthening their resolve. The mute wife of the official Nicostratus, in whose house the brothers are being held, falls at Sebastian's feet, begs forgiveness, and is cured of her disability. Many others are converted to Christianity. The brothers' father, Tranquillinus, is cured of a skin disease by his conversion, and his colleague Chromatius also hopes for a similar miracle. Sebastian tells him to break all his idols, which he does except for a room which is used to predict the future. Chromatius' son Tiburtius insists that Sebastian and his companion, the priest Polycarp, will be burned alive if his father is not cured directly after its dismantling, but the miracle is performed and many are converted to Christianity.

A series of martyrdoms ensues. First, Nicostratus' wife dies under torture. Tranquillinus is then stoned to death. Tiburtius is made to walk over burning coals. Marcellian and Marcus are tied to a stake, where they sing psalms of joy before being run through by lances. Sebastian is eventually brought before the emperors, who are disappointed by his betrayal of their trust, and is taken out to be shot full of arrows. He survives and returns to berate the emperors, who have him beaten to death and his body thrown in a sewer. However, he appears to a female follower in a dream to tell her its location, and she arranges his burial near the apostles in Rome.

A miracle taken from Gregory the Great's treatment of the saint relates the exorcism of a woman who had had intercourse with her husband before attending the dedication of a church to Sebastian. Finally, a story taken from the chronicles of Lombardy tells of Sebastian's miraculous posthumous intervention to stop a plague in Rome and Pavia by the translation of his relics.

### *Saint Eustace*

Placidus, a high-ranking cavalry officer in the Roman army under Trajan, is pagan. Whilst hunting one day, he spies a magnificent stag and

gives chase. He reaches it at a mountain and sees that it has the form of Christ on the cross suspended between its antlers. Christ tells him to be baptised and return to him the next day. Placidus relays this to his wife, and they and their two sons receive baptism. Placidus is christened Eustace. Returning to the stag, Eustace is congratulated on his faith and warned that he will be tested like Job. The sudden loss of all their worldly possessions forces the family to flee by night, leaving Rome upset and mystified by the disappearance.

They attempt to flee by sea, but their lack of money leads the captain to abduct Eustace's wife and put him and his sons off at the next port. Trying to cross a river, he loses one to a lion and one to a wolf, and nearly gives in to despair. Unbeknownst to him, his wife is saved from rape and his children are safely brought up in rural villages, while he tends sheep for fifteen years.

A wave of attacks on Rome leads the emperor to make fresh efforts to find his general. Two of Eustace's former soldiers find him in a village, and recognise him by a scar. He tells them his story and agrees to return to his position. Eustace takes stock of his resources and decrees conscription. Amongst the young soldiers are his two sons, who discover each other's identity whilst staying at their mother's lodgings. Eustace's wife, suspecting the truth, goes to Eustace to ask him for a safe passage back to Rome, and recognises him. The whole family is thus reunited.

Returning to Rome, Emperor Hadrian welcomes them in style, although the situation becomes acrimonious when Eustace refuses to sacrifice to the gods. He puts the family in a pit with a lion, which meekly bows to them. Their martyrdom is accomplished in a brazen bull, which is set on fire. However, their bodies are unblemished when they are removed from it, and the four are buried in honour.

### *A Common Ethos?*

The summaries show that the legends of George, Sebastian, and Eustace share a key set of characteristics. All three are male martyrs, all have

a background in soldiering, and the legends are all set in the persecution of the early Christian Church. None is a formal member of an ecclesiastical hierarchy. On a literary note, they are united by a lack of historical sources, and the legendary quality of the accounts, sometimes with a reliance of the fantastic or supernatural. Questions of homogeneity in hagiography are complex, and truly thematic bonds are often elusive. Nevertheless, an exploration of the common ground between the three legends is vital. This introduction presents some of the common points between them, and the Conclusion will investigate the extent to which such comparisons are enlightening, informed by the close readings of the legends of George, Sebastian, and Eustace (Chapters Four, Five, and Six respectively).

Perhaps the most salient point to note is that George, Eustace, and Sebastian are all male. Gender is a crucial point of comparison in hagiography. Discounting those legends concerning biblical narratives or feast days, three quarters of the accounts in Compilation B name male saints as one of their main protagonists. Some work has already been done on the nature of female sanctity, both in the context of hagiography, and in the wider framework of medieval Spanish literature. However, fewer efforts have been made to engage directly with their male equivalents.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Work completed on Castilian versions of legends based on the *Legenda aurea* concerning female saints includes Thompson & Walsh (1977) and Scarborough (1994) on Mary of Egypt; Walsh & Thompson on Mary Magdalene (1986); Beresford on Thaïs and Pelagia (2007a), Agnes (2007b), and Agatha and Lucy (forthcoming); Watkinson's unpublished MA thesis on Anastasia (2007), and her current doctoral work on Paula and Cecilia. There is also a wider critical context of scholarship on female sanctity, including the operation and function of sanctity in Marian miracles (for example, Anson 1974, Schulenburg 1978, Howe 1979-80, Ackerman 1983, Ward 1987, Burrus 1995, Karras 1996, Mirrer 1996, Stuart 1996, Coon 1997, and Winstead 1997). Studies relating to male saints present in compilations deriving from Jacobus de Voragine include Barbadillo de la Fuente (1985) and Menéndez Pidal (1966) on Dominic of Guzmán; Beresford (2003) on Bernard; Buxton (2006) on Christopher; Connolly (1990) on James; Mulertt (1926) on Patrick; Romero Tobar (1978-80) and Walsh (1992a) on Ildephonsus; Vega (1991) on Alexis; Walker (1982) on Eustace; and Walsh and Thompson (1987) on Toribius. However, the issue of specifically male sanctity is not yet widely debated in critical literature.

Those scholars touching on issues surrounding male saints have been hampered by the comparative infancy of masculinity studies in the light of the more established feminist or pro-feminist line of criticism.<sup>10</sup> As yet, critical frameworks that may be applied are speculative. Furthermore, a discussion of masculinity in medieval Castilian hagiographic texts demands consideration of two further complicating aspects. First, the historical leap backward by five or six hundred years calls for consideration of the social norms and conventions of the period. Second, the leap into hagiographic literature, often set centuries before the time of composition, requires that yet another type of reality be taken into account, one that may have little basis on fact or personality, and therefore paying little heed to sociological or psychological realism (Beresford 2007b: 91). The literary, ahistorical nature of these legends conflicts with the sociological basis of masculinities studies.

Both the useful and the problematic nature of such an approach can be seen in two key principles set out in the introduction to the masculinities reader by Stephen M. Whitehead and Frank J. Barrett (2001). First, the school of thought defines maleness as a global quality or biological construct. In opposition to this, the masculine is defined as the male's identity and behaviour in a specific cultural setting (14). By implication, the masculinities represented by characters in the legends in this thesis are necessarily limited to their cultural and literary frameworks. Writing about contemporary perception of male interaction in the Middle Ages, Ruth Mazo Karras points out that males were not grouped together as an opposite sex to women, but in a hierarchical structure that opposed different groups of men (2003: 2). She argues that men displayed their successful grasp of masculinities to other men, and that at best women came into these games as tools, objects, prizes, or pawns (11-12). Theorists and

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<sup>10</sup> By feminist or pro-feminist lines of criticism, I refer to those scholars who work on gender studies stemming from representations of female characters, and therefore dealing with specifically female issues. I use the term in an apolitical sense insofar as it is possible to talk about gender without making political or personal judgements.

historians therefore agree that any specific cultural context demands a specific paradigm of masculine identity.

However, Whitehead and Barrett also outline a second fundamental but more problematic principle of masculinities theory. This is the dependence on the feminine: 'No matter how definitions of masculinity change, they are always in contrast to some definition of femininity and always elevated over this' (2001: 23). The predication of masculine identity on a relationship of alterity with the feminine is not always practical for medieval texts, from which female or feminised characters are often absent for long periods. Although this reading is enlightening in some places, there are passages where other approaches are more useful. As such, modern theories of masculinity form one critical lens through which thematic meaning is explored, but this discussion is by no means a thesis based exclusively on the application of gender studies to hagiography.

The literary nature of saints' lives points towards another source for representations of masculinities: medieval Castilian secular literature. The corpus proposes a variety of differing masculine identities, ranging from hero to antihero, from tragic to parodic. Some of these characteristics merit exploration in order to evaluate possible correlations between literary or secular heroes and saintly protagonists. A brief survey of critical literature on male protagonists from two different narrative genres gives an idea of the qualities associated with the hero.

Epic poetry and chronicles, which are often (wrongly) considered a literature about men, written for men, is an interesting starting point.<sup>11</sup> In a discussion of the *Cantar de mio Cid*, Alan Deyermond notes that the hero is typified by 'su mesura, su destreza mental, su prudencia económica' (1987: 24). He also sees in the Cid the fusion of *fortitudo* and *sapientia* (26). Furthermore, he argues that the poem's structure is dictated by the themes of honour, marriage, and the relationship between lord and vassal (29). He later discredits the theory, true for some other European epic but not for

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<sup>11</sup> See Deyermond (1987: 95-97) for a discussion of the role of women in the Castilian epic in contrast to its pan-European context.

Castilian, that female characters and sexual relations between men and women are irrelevant, arguing instead that the actions of women are both powerful in their own right, and catalysts for male action (95-97). In short, the success of an epic hero is determined by his social and political capabilities. Hagiography, by contrast, often treats these qualities as irrelevant, or the dominant theme of *contemptus mundi* actively opposes spirituality and political shrewdness. However, these concepts provide useful metaphorical vessels for expressing relationships between the saint and his persecutor, and mankind and the divine. Although they may ultimately be shunned, the saint is also praised for manipulating physical strength, resourcefulness, and relationships with others to his own gain. A fuller discussion of this overlap may be found in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.

In his article on four lost epics, Andrew M. Beresford (2000a) agrees with Deyermond's suggestion that the relationships between the sexes are of paramount importance. Focussing on the interplay between male and female, he notes the images of horse and sword as symbols of male strength, and their functions as gifts (52). The logical consequence of externalising these characteristics is that masculinity can be tampered with by external forces, such as when Sancha feeds Garci Fernández' horse with bran instead of barley to weaken it in *La condesa traidora* (57). Unsurprisingly, these symbols are also present in the legends of Eustace, Sebastian and George, as all three are portrayed as soldiers. Here they highlight the masculinity of the saint by adorning him with symbolism that epitomises male values such as bravery and violence. However, where the epic heroes in Beresford's legends often end in treachery and death due to their dependence on these values and symbols, the saints explicitly put their soldiering profession aside in order to submit to martyrdom. Horse and sword, representing honour and the ability to avenge oneself, may define their masculinity to a certain degree, but when the process of martyrdom has begun, they express it in different ways. By casting off this fallible symbolism, they are not open to the kind of attacks such as Garci Fernández suffered. They borrow from epic symbolism and characterisation only as far as it is useful, before employing more traditional hagiographic motifs.



Other genres represent the hero's masculinity in different ways. At first sight, the protagonists of Castilian romance appear to bear little resemblance to saints. However, a small number of key studies show the potential richness of the comparison. In her article on hagiographic constructs in the *Libro de Apolonio*, Marina Scordilis Brownlee notes the codicological, linguistic, and spiritual affinities between saints' lives and romance texts (1983: 174). The overlap of poetic aim, possible audiences, and textual construction suggest that the relationship may be stronger than first imagined. Apolonio is a bookish, intellectual character, cast as a universal Christian pilgrim (164-70), who would fit well in the type of ascetic saints, such as Mary of Egypt, whose legend is included in the same codex.<sup>12</sup>

However, Brownlee is the first to admit that the *Libro de Apolonio* is atypical of the Greek romance tradition (161), and the saints presented here, although able in rhetoric, are not bookish.<sup>13</sup> More fitting with the legends of George, Sebastian, and Eustace is John K. Walsh's analysis of the motif of the dragon in hagiography and romance (1977). The conflict between it and the Christian knight or saint permits a scene of dramatic excitement that showcases the victor's strength, both in the sense of a strict adherence to physical and chivalric ideas, and in his or her moral rectitude against a creature symbolic of evil or pagan forces. The overlap between the masculine courtly ideal and the holy male through common ground with Castilian romance imagery is a theme examined in detail in Chapters Four and Six.

The fact that George, Sebastian, and Eustace are all male binds them to certain traditions, such as epic and romance ideals of masculinity. However, the discussion of the overlap with romance has hinted at their second crucial shared characteristic: sanctity, and its apotheosis in martyrdom. Like gender,

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<sup>12</sup> See Beresford (2000b) for a discussion of the thematic unity of this manuscript, Escorial K-III-4.

<sup>13</sup> The legend of Eustace shows most parallels with this branch of romance tradition, including sharing the focus of familial love (Brownlee 1983: 161). This will be discussed at length in Chapter Six.

holiness is seen as an innate quality. However, while the nature of their masculinity is never questioned, their sanctity is required to develop and intensify over the course of the narrative in preparation for death. Eustace, for instance, does good works and therefore deserves his conversion (*La vida de Sant Eustachio*, l.6-7). George confronts persecution on a sudden impulse of response to the challenge of the persecuting environment (*Sant Jorge mártir*, l.84-86). Sebastian, on the other hand, enters the narrative with unshakeable faith, and instead acts as a focal point for other protagonists to develop their own.

Each of the three legends culminates in the martyrdom of the principal character. This is a common feature of many hagiographic narratives, particularly those set in the early Christian period, where confrontations with Roman persecution led to a ready-made apparatus for its enactment. As an authentic and full act of *imitatio Christi*, martyrdom could not be surpassed, although Rome's acceptance of Christianity in the fourth century and the subsequent lack of persecutors led to the development of new types of sanctity, such as asceticism. As is appropriate to such an important feature of the legends, martyrdom is explored in depth, particularly in Chapters Four and Five, which examine the controversial death(s) of George, and the multiple persecutions of Sebastian and his companions.

In summary, the faith of George, Sebastian, and Eustace is based on an innate tendency to do good works, coupled with a sense of unshakeable loyalty, the use of reason and rhetoric, and a narrative terminus of martyrdom for their beliefs. An enlightening comparison can be drawn with female virgin saints, who often express their relationships with Christ using the analogy of marriage. For example, the Castilian recensions of the legend of Saint Agnes record her depicting her faith as intense and individualised, based on a highly eroticised spiritual version of married love, thus displacing human emotions to a different scale (Beresford 2007a: 85, l.8-19). If the sanctity of Agnes is akin the love of a perfect wife, the sanctity of George, Eustace, and Sebastian may be seen as analogous to the love of a perfect

vassal, an image common to the epic.<sup>14</sup> Wife and vassal may not appear to be direct equivalents, but they are in fact the most common model of a two-person relationship between unequal parties, where the saints are the inferior party to God. Both of these analogies are predicated on the idea of faith as loyalty. Consequently, the female saint could be expected to reject any other advances to her chastity, and the male saint to avoid disloyalty and dishonour to his lord. The themes of loyalty and duty, framed in terms of the vassalic bond, are important motifs in all three legends presented here, and are discussed in more detail, particularly in Chapter Five.

However, one further aspect of the analogy of the dutiful vassal is a key to the legends of George, Sebastian, and Eustace: the depiction of the saints as military figures. Here, the figure of the *miles Christi*, the soldier of Christ, used to refer to martyrs of both sexes and all social backgrounds, is given a literal interpretation. G. W. Bowersock, discussing the historical shift from urban martyrs to a wider demographic, states:

To the Diocletianic age, on the eve of the Christian empire, martyrological literature was to assign many more soldier-martyrs, who would bring to reality the traditional metaphor of fighting in the cause of Christ. (1995: 42)

Although a rise in the numbers of those described as soldiers is recorded, it must be remembered that there is little evidence for Sebastian, Eustace, or George as historical figures. By casting them as physical *milites Christi*, the literal and symbolic dimensions of the narratives become blurred, as images are used simultaneously to represent both their actual selves, and the allusions they suggest.

Turning from thematic unity to narrative cohesion, the legends have other features in common. None of the three can claim many historically verifiable details, and therefore have been expanded and embellished to suit the needs of the contemporary pious population, often with an emphasis on dramatic or supernatural events. Personal characteristics have been

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<sup>14</sup> See in particular Michael Harney (1993), D. G. Pattison (1996), and Julian Weiss (2006: 159-72) on the vassalic bond in medieval Castilian literature.

extrapolated from the remnants of deeds attributed to the three saints. Therefore, any evidence of homogeneity would point to a conscious construction of character or narrative within a tradition, allowing the author the licence for creativity within the few concrete plot specifications. A result of this process, as could be expected, is that George, Eustace and Sebastian share characteristics. However, the plots vary greatly, with the fundamental exception of the motif of martyrdom. As such, their distinguishing features demand as much attention as their similarities.

In summary, the principal characters of the legends of George, Sebastian, and Eustace are linked by their masculinity, their sanctity and martyrdom, and their representation as military figures. Their legends share an emphasis on certain supernatural motifs. Chapters Four, Five, and Six explore both the similarities between them and the unique aspects of the legends. Chapter Four presents a consideration of Saint George and the tension between martyrdom and chivalry. Chapter Five continues with an examination of multiple characters and narratives, and how this affects relationships between both intertextual and extratextual characters in Sebastian. Next, Chapter Six provides a study of the symbolism and typology at work in the legend of Eustace. Although this Chapter is based upon fascinating material, it also functions as a discursive coda to the codicological and textual elements of the thesis, focussing as it does on Escorial h-I-14, the only manuscript to offer a version of the narrative. Finally, the Conclusion returns to a global outlook in order to draw together common threads of the thesis and assess possible future steps for the study of this material.

## Chapter Two

### Jacobus de Voragine and the Castilian Legends

In order to assess the texts found in the Castilian recensions of Compilation B, it is vital to analyse the relationship between it and its source, Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. Voragine's text was widely diffused across Europe, and constant revisions, alterations, and additions suggest that it was viewed as a work in progress (see Chapter One). Comparison between the *Legenda* and its vernacular reworkings is therefore problematised by great variety on both sides. The texts are dynamic objects, and uncertainties surrounding the chronologies of their development overshadow any conclusions.

The aim of this chapter is to shed light on the process by which the legends arrived in their general form in the manuscripts of Compilation B. I look at the legends of Saints George, Sebastian, and Eustace in turn. A survey of scholarship on how each particular form of the legend passed into the *Legenda aurea* is included as a preface. Next, the main body of the analysis looks at the trends of modification as these texts are reworked into Compilation B, producing the raw narrative material with which each of the manuscript scribes will work. Finally, I ask if this textual evidence illuminates any of the many questions about the purpose of these manuscripts, and their aesthetic, educational, or liturgical uses. The tentative conclusions from this analysis establish hypotheses for the codicological and linguistic studies in Chapter Three, which looks at the variety of the manuscripts within the Castilian framework set out by the end of this Chapter.

#### George

The history of the legend of Saint George is long and complex. Its content comprises a wide variety of subject matter, and has witnesses in a

range of Eastern and Western traditions.<sup>1</sup> The work of John E. Matzke (1902 and 1903) researched various Latin, Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and vernacular recensions. He concluded that there were two main families of the legend, largely due to the attempts of Pope Gelasius I in 494 to regulate apocryphal literature surrounding the Church (1902: 465, 481). The concerns shown by Gelasius name the accounts of Quiricus and Julitta, and of George, as examples of improbable hagiography, lacking identifiable authors and doctrinal value. They also provide scholars with the first reference to the legend (464).

This prohibition resulted in the growth of several strands of textual development, which Matzke groups under two broad headings depending on whether they are descended from the version to which Gelasius objected, or from its altered and sanctioned reincarnation. Matzke terms the first family ‘apocryphal’ and the second ‘canonical’. The apocryphal strand, descended from the outlandish and improbable original legend, was to flourish in Greek (and later Latin), Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic versions, developing differently and extensively in both Eastern and Western hagiography. Matzke argues that the legend eventually found in Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea* was from this strand, deriving from a text found in manuscripts from the tenth century onwards (1902: 511, 514), and ultimately from lost descendants of the apocryphal archetype (492). This intermediary text, which he labels *c*, is identified in 27 manuscripts. From its wide diffusion and the high number of extant codices, as well as textual evidence, he concludes: ‘It [*c*] was evidently the version received as authentic during the Middle Ages in Western Europe’ (514), and therefore the likely immediate ancestor for the *Legenda aurea* (515). He also includes an extract

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<sup>1</sup> For a survey of Latin manuscripts containing the legend of George, see the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* and its revisions (Société des Bollandistes 1898-1901: I, 502-07; also 1911: 143-36, and Fros 1986: 380-85). Some edited examples of traditions from languages other than Latin include Greek (Aufhauser 1913; also see Mark-Weiner 1977 on Byzantine art), Old Nubian (Browne 1998), Ethiopian and Coptic (Budge 1930), Old French (Guilchet 2001), and sixteenth-century English (Barclay 1955).

from a manuscript representative of  $\epsilon$ , the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Latin 5565 (534-35).

Alain Boureau and his colleagues located the origins of the legend in Voragine in slightly different sources. They suggest that the martyrdom narrative was from Jean de Mailly's hagiography, augmented by posthumous miracles from Gregory of Tours and a history of Antioch, combined with comments from Ambrose's preface on the saint (Boureau et al 2004: 1209). However, they also identify a process of reworking on a grand scale, which led to the expansion of the dragon narrative in around 1270, and raising the questions surrounding the legend's authenticity. They note a possible political current behind this unusually large reworking:

On peut se demander si l'effort particulier de documentation et de réécriture pour la seconde version ne tient pas à l'implantation croissante de Voragine à Gênes et à son souci de donner plus de place à Georges, qui devint patron de la ville. (1210)

Whatever the reason for including and expanding the dragon narrative, it is certain that the *Legenda aurea* was one of the earliest Western texts to reproduce it, and one that went on to have a heavy influence across Latin Europe (Seybolt 1946b).

The controversial nature of the legend throughout its history makes the study of its process of reworking crucial. It treads a fine line between credibility and superstition, and the constant revision, refining, and additions have all continued to regenerate it. Its particularly flexible essence is one of the keys to its enduring popularity through different time periods (not least in modern symbolism).<sup>2</sup>

The most obvious difference between the Compilation B manuscripts and their Latin source is the lack of prefatory and concluding matter.<sup>3</sup> They

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<sup>2</sup> See Didi-Huberman et al (1994) and Riches (2000) for a discussion of its modern context.

<sup>3</sup> The Compilation B manuscripts containing the legend of George, as outlined in Chapter One, are Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419, Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo 9, and Escorial K-II-12 (edited together as *Sant Jorge mártir*), Escorial h-I-14 (*La vida de Sant*

omit Voragine's etymology explaining the meaning of the name 'Georgius', and the concluding posthumous miracle that takes place at the storming of Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Several shorter passages are also abbreviated or not present: two commentaries by Ambrose, some historical details of the martyrdom, and a reference to a variant of the legend given in another source.<sup>5</sup> I reproduce the first gloss by Ambrose. The underlined text marks phrases not translated in any of the Castilian manuscripts:

Hic exclamat Ambrosius in praefatione dicens: Georgius fidelissimus miles Christi, dum christianitatis professio silentio tegetur, solus inter christicolas intrepidus Dei filium est confessus. Cui et tantam constantiam gratia divina concessit, ut et tyrannicae potestatis praecepta contemneret et innumerabilium non formidaret tormenta poenarum. O felix et inclitus domini proelior! Quem non solum temporalis regni blanda non persuasit promissio, sed persecutore deluso simulacrorum ejus portenta in abyssum dejecit. Haec Ambrosius. (l.147-55, my emphasis)

The uniform omission of these sections strongly suggests that they had been omitted in the archetype for the Compilation. Furthermore, the fact that most of these passages are doctrinal, explanatory, or academic implies that the narrative content of the legend was considered by the translator to have had supremacy over its devotional matter.

This point, however, must be taken with caution as a generalisation. The posthumous miracle relating George's help in the crusades is a tangential narrative. It could stand alone as an independent account, but in reality functions as a subsidiary to the main biographical portrait. A number of smaller omissions could also be considered as weakening the legend by their absence rather than making it more concise. For example, a sentence

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George [h]), and Escorial M-II-6 (*La vida de Sant Jorge* [M]). They can be found at Appendix 1.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix 3, *De sancto Georgio*, l.1-23 and 190-99. Further citations are from this text, and are henceforth given by line number only.

<sup>5</sup> See l.147-55, 172-77, 182-84, 92-94.



of the saint's speech at Silene is missing: 'tantummodo in Christum credite et unusquisque vestrum baptizetur et draconem istum occidam' (l.79-80). This is a central part of George's discourse to the townsfolk, as he presents his victory over the dragon as a tool with which to bargain in return for their conversion. In this case, the loss of the sentence gives the impression that the motive for baptism stems from gratitude towards George, rather than as a response to coercion, as it is in the Latin.

Other omitted phrases are similarly emphatic in tone. When his wife announces her wish to convert to Christianity, the expression 'Heu pro dolor!' voiced by Dacianus (l.166-67) is the only evidence that he regrets the martyrdom she now faces. His emotional characterisation ranges from anger to joy at his apparent victory over George, and dismay at his defeat. By omitting these few words, the Castilian texts restrict his development as a fuller character. There are further examples of small but crucial omissions. For instance, the king's daughter in the Latin is described as 'unica' (l.36), emphasising her emotional and political significance to her father, and heightening the sense that her sacrifice to the dragon is a disaster for the town. This emphasis is less clear in the Castilian revisions.

Omissions also occur in the process of translation. Many of these consist of the loss of words or short phrases that clarify matters such as subjectivity and objectivity, necessary in the case system of Latin, but made redundant by the use of prepositions in Castilian. Some minor details are also lost, such as the phrase 'maxime cum harum copiam habere non possent' (l.32-33), referring to the impossibility of finding more sheep to feed to the dragon. Details such as this display an actively critical eye consistent with the writer who gives alternative endings from different sources (see note 4 above), and their omission marks the consistency of the translator's methodology. The reworking appears to be an attempt to create a concise and predominantly narrative text, suggesting a repository of material that may be incorporated flexibly into discourses such as preaching. However, it is helpful to bear in mind that there are exceptions to this, and these impoverish the legend in places. In short, the hypothesis of such an

agenda must be tempered with the acceptance that any given change may have been made through human error rather than conscious reflection.

Additions to the text that occur in the process of reworking are much less likely to be due to mistakes such as eyeskip; they are generally due to a need for clarification or a taste for embellishment. Most of the additions common to all five manuscripts, and therefore most likely present in the archetype for Compilation B, are emphatic interjections: words such as *muy*, *grande*, *mucho*, and *bien*. For example, compare the opening lines:<sup>6</sup>

Georgius tribunus genere  
Cappadocum pervenit quadam  
vice in provinciam Libyae in  
civitatem, quae dicitur Silena.  
Juxta quam civitatem erat stag-  
num instar maris, in quo draco  
pestifer latitabat. (l.24-26)

Sant Jorge fue infançon muy  
noble e fue natural de Capa-  
docia. E vino una vegada a la  
provincia de Libia en una cibdat  
que dizían Silena. E cerca della  
era una laguna tan grande que  
semejaba mar, en la qual estava  
un dragón malo. (*Sant Jorge*  
*mártir*, l.1-4; my emphasis.)

The Latin adopts a measured tone; the only adjective is ‘pestifer’. In contrast, the Castilian texts decorate this passage. George is raised to sanctity even before he has gained his crown of martyrdom, his noble status is underlined, and the size of the lake is emphasised. This style of embellishment is a feature of the whole Compilation, and was therefore most likely to have been present in the archetype. Reworking in this manner continues in differing degrees in every manuscript, and is explored at length in Chapter Three.

Other additions testified throughout the Compilation may suggest another facet of the archetype’s general approach towards translation. These concern specifically comparative details that serve to polarise the characteristics of pagan and Christian protagonists. These appear in the martyrdom narrative: a depiction of a battle between contradictory wills.

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<sup>6</sup> For the equivalent passage in *La vida de Sant George (b)* and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, see l.1-4 in both editions.

One such occasion is the clarification of the recipients of George's wealth. Voragine says that 'quae habebat, dispersit' (1.99-100), but all Castilian texts translate *dispersit* as 'diólo a los pobres'.<sup>7</sup> George does not merely rid himself of his wealth, but benefits those most in need, and is therefore an explicit paragon of charity in addition to his other qualities.

An analogous addition is inserted into Dacianus' speech as he talks to George. Attempting to flatter and bribe him into submission, he exhorts the saint: 'Age ergo, dilectissime fili, quod hortor, ut superstitione relictā Diis nostris sacrifices' (1.132-34). The Castilian texts translate 'superstitione relictā' as 'dexes esta locura', and add 'que tienes de los *Christianos*'. In this way, Dacianus emphasises the difference between pagans and Christians, calling their beliefs 'superstitione' or 'locura', terms commonly used by the Christians against pagan idolatry. He simultaneously strengthens George's resolve by allowing him to construct his identity in opposition to Dacianus and his Roman followers.

The lack of substantial additions to the Latin text shows a sustained attempt to transmit its content intact. Instead, the archetype for Compilation B appears to prefer to add dramatic emphasis with intensifiers, and to highlight the conflicts between pagan and Christian worlds, refining and embellishing the text and its dogmatic agenda in the process.

The addition and omission of words or phrases in the reworking of a text are two ways in which the scholar can observe the choices made, and make it possible to construct hypotheses of translation methodology. It is natural that in any process of reworking, the source text is subjected to a number of other changes, even when the intention is to reproduce a literal and faithful version of it in the target language. These alterations, whether intentional or not, are numerous and controversial, because they demand the engagement of the modern scholar's critical judgement. Here the focus is on those areas in which the tension between the Latin and Castilian narratives is most clear. These are passages where translated vocabulary

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<sup>7</sup> *Sant Jorge mártir*, 1.85; *La vida de Sant George (h)*, 1.103; *La vida de Sant Jorge*, 1.74.

lends different shades of meaning to the text, and where the translator appears to have aimed at emotional intensification.

One of the most interesting lexical groups is that of social rank or grade, by which each character is classified. The Latin source takes its context from the early years of Christianity and the social structures of Rome. It uses words that were less relevant to medieval Castile, and which were replaced by equivalents in translation. The following table gives some examples:

Latin	Castilian
tribunus	infançón
ex nobili	fijo dalgo
rex	rey, enperador, adelantado

The ‘tribunus’ is an official chosen by the people he represents to protect their interests, and is often a synonym for a Roman legionary officer. The Castilian gives ‘infançón’, a noble rank that replaces the connotations of governance and representation with those of inherited rank.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, the vague ‘ex nobili’ is given a concrete rank of ‘fijo dalgo’. Both terms situate George at a recognisable contemporary social level.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> For a definition of the *infançón* and several analogues in medieval Castilian literature, see Menéndez Pidal’s work on the *Cantar de mio Cid* (1945, II: 718-20).

<sup>9</sup> When translating the *Legenda aurea* into modern French, Alain Boureau outlines the methodology used in similar circumstances. Although he claims fidelity to the Latin text, he acknowledges the redefinition of this lexical field: ‘Ainsi l’une des difficultés de la traduction réside dans le réemploi au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle de textes parfois fort anciens. Nous avons fait le choix de rendre compte des transpositions lexicales ou mentales qu’effectuait Voragine quand il se représentait le monde antique du christianisme. Un *miles*, soldat antique, devient parfois un «chevalier»; un *abba* du désert oriental, qui est originellement un «père», un guide spirituel, est aussi compris par Voragine comme un «abbé», chef institutionnel d’une communauté religieuse, etc.’ (2004: LIII). The strategy of making the vocabulary relevant to a feudal society appears to have remained as attractive in the twenty first century as it was in the fifteenth, although Boureau does not explain the reason for the choice or cite analogous translations. His argument is, however,

However, where George sheds some of his Roman connections, the translator reinforces those of his persecutor. Instead of translating 'rex' literally and consistently as 'rey' (king), the words 'enperador' (emperor) and 'adelantado' (prefect, consul, or governor) are also given. Both of these have strong Roman connotations. This lexical choice allows the translator to emphasise the confrontation of George, marked as clearly by noble birth as by divine grace, and the imperial and pagan persecutors, who are characterised by language that has fewer connotations of birthright, and therefore of legitimacy.

Further suggestions of nobility are made with the translation of 'puella' (l.69 and 73) as 'infanta'. The girl is indeed the daughter of the king, but where the Latin emphasises her youth, the Castilian stresses her royalty. Interestingly, at the same point in the text, the princess addresses George as 'bone juvenis' (l.59). The Castilian manuscripts translate this as 'hermano'.<sup>10</sup> Again, instead of concentrating on his youth and evident goodness, the translator shades the girl's words. 'Hermano' implies not only that the saint will protect her like a brother, but also prefigures the religious community he will support when he forsakes his military garb for the 'ábito de Christiano'.<sup>11</sup> This is neatly juxtaposed with the translation of the subsequent 'bone miles' (l.66) as 'cavallero', which reminds the audience of his noble and military background.<sup>12</sup>

Some passages display the hand of a translator altering the text to increase its intensity. For example, as the king laments the imminent death of his daughter, he juxtaposes his lost hopes for her grand wedding with: 'et nunc vadis, ut a dracone devoreris' (l.51). The use of 'vadis' implies the princess goes of her own free will to sacrifice herself. However, the Castilian

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strengthened by the analogous translation of *miles* in Castilian as 'cavallero', a term that is a partial synonym, but charged with political and cultural meaning.

<sup>10</sup> *Sant Jorge mártir*, l.40; *La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.49; *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.36.

<sup>11</sup> *Sant Jorge mártir*, l.86; in *La vida de Sant George (h)* and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)* the garb is described as 'de religioso' (respectively l.104 and 75).

<sup>12</sup> *Sant Jorge mártir*, l.48; *La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.57; *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.43.

uses the verb 'llevar', as though an external force carries her to death.<sup>13</sup> Clearly, the Castilian translator is aiming to evoke pity for the helpless girl by colouring his narrative with extra violence. This said, if the story of the princess and the dragon is read as a prefiguration of the salvation of the queen's soul later in the account, the extra drama undermines her willing sacrifice, and makes the connection between the two halves more difficult to perceive.

These examples of variation are fundamental to an understanding of the processes and agendas active in translating the legends from Latin into Spanish. However, an even greater diversity is to be found in an internal comparison of the five manuscripts of Compilation B, which will be discussed at length in Chapter Three. The few but crucial alterations to the Latin text suggest that the archetype's author had little wish to depart from the source except in unusual circumstances. Where additions exist, they are mostly due to an effort to heighten the dramatic nature of the text, while the omission of doctrinal, explanatory, or other academic passages also testifies to the primacy of narrative. Throughout the Compilation, Voragine's text is made simpler and more concise, concentrating on the bare but emphatic facts of the account.

## Sebastian

The trends identified in the process of reworking the legend of George from Latin into Castilian give rise to questions of scale. It is important to examine other legends in order to evaluate whether the tone and character of the reworked text is an anomaly, or whether it indicates a wider translation methodology, and even context of production. The account given of Saint Sebastian is a good starting point, as four of the five manuscripts attesting George also reproduce Sebastian.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Sant Jorge mártir*, l.33; *La vida de Sant George (b)*, l.41; *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.30.

<sup>14</sup> The Compilation B manuscripts containing the legend of Sebastian, as outlined in Chapter One, are Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419, Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo 9,

However, the legend's prehistory must also be examined in order to give a background to Voragine's text. As Boureau and his colleagues state, Sebastian was one of the most popular saints in Western Latin Christendom, but there are almost no historical witnesses or ancient *Acts* to his martyrdom (2004: 1126-29). A *Depositio martyrum* from 354 gives a death date and a location for a tomb; Ambrose gives a few further details in a commentary on Psalm 118. An initial *passio*, wrongly attributed to Ambrose, connected Sebastian with the Four Crowned Martyrs, and described him as a Praetorian guard under Maximian and Diocletian. In this account, Sebastian comforted other Christians, and was later shot with arrows. After this, he was flogged and thrown into a sewer. A fragmentary 'roman hagiographique' (Boureau et al 2004: 1127) grew up around this legend and those of other Roman contemporaries.<sup>15</sup> The cult continued to develop, particularly near Rome, until the sixteenth century, at which point competition from saints such as Roch or Charles Borromeo reduced the growth of Sebastian's popularity.

The Pseudo-Ambrose text is the basis for all subsequent legends, and although Boureau notes that the *Legenda aurea* is closer to Jean de Mailly, only Bartholomew of Trent gives the final miracle. Jacobus de Voragine must therefore have had access either to both texts, or to some kind of intermediate, lost hybrid. Although the history of the Sebastian legend is less fabulous than that of George, they share a lack of historically verifiable evidence. This highlights the agency and aims of the author or compiler that is forced to create a legend from few facts. In the same way as happened with Saint George, the text is conflated and confused with others, and popular elements (such as the motif of the shooting of arrows) are exaggerated.

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and Escorial K-II-12 (edited together as *Sant Sebastián mártir*), and Escorial h-I-14 (*La vida de Sant Savastián*). They can be found at Appendix 1.

<sup>15</sup> For a survey of Latin manuscripts containing the legend of Sebastian, see the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* and its revisions (Société des Bollandistes 1898-1901: II, 1093-94 and 1911: 275-76; Fros 1986: 772-73).

As with the legend of George, the Castilian Sebastian text omits the Latin prefatory matter regarding the etymological origin of his name, and a commentary by Ambrose at the end of the account.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the first words of Psalm 133, recited by Marcellianus and Marcus when they are tied to a stake, are also absent (l.126). These omissions are all doctrinal, and would be more familiar to an ecclesiastical or academic eye. The manuscripts of Compilation B dispense with material that detracts attention from the narrative with explanatory digressions. Commentary is reduced to a bare minimum.

Historical and academic phrases are also consistently removed from the text. For example, ‘passus est autem sub Dyocletiano et Maximiano imperatoribus, qui coeperunt circa annos domini CLXXXVII’ (l.150-52), a phrase which locates the legend to a specific time and set of historical characters, is not transmitted. Two further details, referring the reader to the first book of Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues* (l.154) and to the church of Saint Peter in Chains in Rome (l.177), are also absent. This textual evidence, supported by the earlier arguments referring to George, shows that the strategy of the translator of Compilation B was to strip the source text of details that may be considered superfluous; these details could be doctrinal, reflective, or academic. The concision gained from this process allows the text to flow with fewer changes of pace or commentaries to detract from the narrative content. In addition, omitting smaller phrases shows that a critical mind was combined with an eye for detail.

This said, one important narrative passage present in the Latin is omitted from the Castilian recensions. The passage describes a crucial moment in the development of Sebastian’s sanctity; after preaching on the benefits of martyrdom, his words and actions are confirmed by a Christ-like figure:

Igitur dum beatus Sebastianus haec ex ore proferret, subito per  
unam fere horam a splendore nimio de coelo descendente

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<sup>16</sup> Appendix 3, *De sancto Sebastiano*, l.1-11 and 177-81. Further citations are from this text, and are henceforth given by line number only.



illuminatus est et sub illo splendore pallio candidissimo amictus  
et ab angelis septem clarissimis circumdatus. Juvenis etiam  
apparuit iuxta eum dans ei pacem et dicens: tu semper mecum  
eris. (l.62-66)

This is one of only three appearances of supernatural beings in the legend (excluding the posthumous miracles).<sup>17</sup> It marks the moment at which the saint is publicly and miraculously acknowledged to be a conduit of divine grace. It is later followed by the omission of a second angel (l.106-09), which leads to some confusion over whether Chromatius and his household wish to kiss Sebastian's feet or the angel's. The angel's refusal to touch the unbaptised is therefore transferred to the saint. Unlike other significant omissions, the absence of both of these passages is anomalous in the sense that they confuse rather than streamline the narrative. The fact that they both concern appearances of angels may indicate a wish to eradicate miraculous visitations, but the absence of the two passages severely undermines the saint's legitimacy, and is not in keeping with the spirit of hagiography. This may therefore suggest that the translator of Compilation B had an incomplete text, or that he was not particularly accomplished at his task, or that he omitted these passages by mistake when reworking it in Castilian, and that the similar subject matter merely points towards coincidence.

There are other instances of words or phrases missing from all manuscripts that cannot easily be explained without attributing them to human error. These include the phrase 'amicos respuitis' (l.43), which reduces the wives' reproach of Marcellianus and Marcus to its impact on family, rather than the wider social circle. This omission is both unfaithful to the source, and streamlines the focus of the brothers' duty to their families. However, it is also part of a stream of second-person plural verbs:

parentes despicitis, amicos respuitis, uxores abjicitis, filios  
abdicatis et vos carnificibus spontaneos exhibetis. (l.42-44)

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<sup>17</sup> The occasion not discussed here is the apparition of the dead Sebastian to Lucina to show her where his body has been thrown into a sewer (l.148-50).

The repetition of the verb ending *-itis* may have induced a case of eyeskip. An analogous situation arises with the Latin ‘dum tenet, tentus est, dum vincit, victus est’ (l.60). Here, the Castilian reworkings all transmit partial readings, either by omitting ‘tentus est, dum vincit’, probably through a mistake in sampling, or the omission of the first or second half of the passage. This kind of error is crucial for hypotheses dealing with manuscript affiliation, as omissions across more than one witness give an idea of textual descent (see Chapter Three).

To summarise, the omissions from the Sebastian narrative mostly appear to be part of a programme of streamlining, aiming at a concise text that transmits the material necessary to follow the story. However, some omissions also occur that cannot be explained by this hypothesis. In these cases, human error is likely to be at work, but some points raise more questions than they answer.

An agenda becomes a little clearer when additions to the *Legenda aurea* are considered, as they are more likely to be intentional. As was apparent in the legend of George, an emphatic style may also be observed in Sebastian. Examples include additions such as ‘aún si’ for the Latin ‘si’, ‘muy’ to strengthen adjectives and adverbs, ‘hevos’ or ‘ahevos’ to lend a sense of immediacy or direct address, and ‘sant’ to describe various protagonists.

Similarly, belief and doctrine are the subjects of textual expansion in the case of Zoë’s martyrdom. The Latin ‘emisit spiritum’ (l.112) is extended to ‘murió e fuésse para paraíso’, articulating the link between the martyr’s death and her reward in the next life.<sup>18</sup> This is repeated in the subsequent death of Tranquillinus, which is extended from the curt ‘lapidatus est’ in the Latin (l.115) to ‘fue apedreado por amor de Jhesu Christo’.<sup>19</sup>

It is clear that there is no one unifying translation methodology in operation in the legend of Sebastian. In some cases, narrative concision and

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<sup>18</sup> *Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.103; *La vida de Sant Savastían*, l.104.

<sup>19</sup> *Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.105; Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo 9 omits ‘amor de’ although keeps the mention of Christ. *La vida de Sant Savastían* gives ‘Dios’ instead of ‘Jhesu Christo’ (l.106-07).

heightened drama seem to be privileged; in others, the text appears to expand upon points relevant to doctrine on martyrdom, although more academic comments such as those by Ambrose do not survive the streamlining tendency. Added to this is the possibility that any change to the Latin source on its reworking in Castilian may be due to a faulty archetype or human error in the process of copying. In short, the legend of Sebastian contains a mixture of conflicting translation methodologies.

One of the most arresting features of vocabulary adaptation seen in George is also apparent from the very beginning of the Sebastian narrative. Words referring to rank and social status, particularly military standing, are translated to ensure intelligibility. In the Latin, he is a 'vir christianissimus' (l.12), and the emperors are so fond of him 'ut principatum ei primae cohortis traderent' (l.14). However, the Castilian rendering employs the word 'cavallero', defining him by a sense of nobility that has become more explicit. They reinforce this by translating the second phrase as 'tanto que era príncipe de los cavalleros'.<sup>20</sup> The mounted nobility becomes a synonym for the Roman army, lending it a contemporary feudal air. This is later emphasised by the translation of 'servorum' and 'servi' as 'vasallos' (l.30, 90).<sup>21</sup> The implications of this translation will be examined in Chapter Five.

Other examples of explicit or confused rank are the translation of the recurring word 'praefectus' in different ways. Firstly, referring to Chromatius before his cure, it defines him in terms of an 'alcalde' or 'senador'.<sup>22</sup> Although Fabianus, the interrogator, begins as an 'alcalde', as his tortures become more directed and intense, he graduates to 'adelantado', a higher rank and one commonly used in medieval Castilian hagiography to designate the persecutor when he is not royal or imperial.<sup>23</sup> Finally, the miracle of the

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<sup>20</sup> *Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.3-4; *La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.3-4.

<sup>21</sup> *Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.23, 80; *La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.23, 80.

<sup>22</sup> *Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.75, 80; *La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.79.

<sup>23</sup> *Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.110-19; *La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.112-17.

possessed woman ends with the statement that Fortunatus, 'quidam autem vir' (l.165), although in the Castilian he is promoted to 'obispo'.<sup>24</sup>

Vocabulary also seems to be simplified and generalised in some places. One focus for these phrases is a number of references to the terminology of death. These are represented by different phrases in Latin, such as 'ne videam filios meos gladio caedi' (l.38), 'vos carnificibus spontaneos exhibetis' (l.43-44), and 'feminae nos ad coronam praecedunt' (l.113-14). The Castilian texts often replace these phrases with more direct words. In the first example, instead of talking of more broadly of falling by the sword, it states that the father does not want to see his sons beheaded (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.30).<sup>25</sup> Although the meaning is the same, the language is more stark. The second example portrays the young men going willingly to death, 'a la muerte', rather than to the executioner.<sup>26</sup> In the final instance, the women are said to be going to paradise, rather than acceding to a crown.<sup>27</sup> This is a common phrase to denote the rewards of martyrdom, but the language leaves less ambiguity in the Castilian. The connection between martyrdom and reward in an afterlife are made clear by a series of alterations apparently made to reduce metonymy.

Other modifications are due to errors of omission or sampling. For example, the exhortation of the father to young and old men to weep with him over Marcellianus and Marcus, an unambiguous passage in the *Legenda aurea*, is confused in the Castilian texts.<sup>28</sup> This is probably due to the similarity of both exhortations; errors of sampling may have been compounded by measures taken to rectify earlier mistakes.

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<sup>24</sup> *Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.153; *La vida de Sant Savastían*, l.151.

<sup>25</sup> *Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.30-31. *La vida de Sant Savastían* (l.30-31) is less specific than either the Latin source or the other Compilation B recensions, and reads: 'por tal que non veades la muerte de mis fijos.'

<sup>26</sup> *Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.37-38; *La vida de Sant Savastían*, l.38.

<sup>27</sup> *Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.104 (although this sentence is omitted by Escorial K-II-12); *La vida de Sant Savastían*, l.105.

<sup>28</sup> *Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.28-31; *La vida de Sant Savastían*, l.30-31.

The Castilian legends of Sebastian and George as represented by Compilation B appear to have had some common methodological goals. A reliance on narrative concision and emphatic language serves to quicken the pace of the texts and heighten their dramatic impact. The simplification or omission of academically inclined doctrine or commentary also lends itself to this aim. The use of contemporary vocabulary to refer to social standing and religious terminology also suggests a desire to make the text accessible. However, in the case of Sebastian, these aims are not universally applied. Nor can the failure to implement these strategies be attributed entirely to human error. Inconsistencies arise, such as the omission of both angelic appearances, and confusion over subjects. The similarities of approach between the two legends are close enough to suggest a shared mental, religious, and imaginative context, highly suggestive of the production of preaching manuals used by mendicant friars such as the Franciscans or Dominicans. However, the small sample means that this theory of translation methodology is tentative, and contradictory textual evidence implies that the application of such an approach was not entirely consistent.

## Eustace

Although Eustace is claimed as a martyr of the second century, there is no record of him until he appears in the eighth-century *De Imaginibus Oratio* by John of Damascus. A written textual tradition developed even later, appearing in the tenth century. The Latin *passio* was very popular in Western Christendom, where it was included in most large twelfth-century hagiographic compilations.<sup>29</sup> The lack of evidence of Eustace's existence did not affect the huge popularity of his legend in the medieval period. On the contrary, the imaginative freedom with which the original scribes of his

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<sup>29</sup> For a survey of Latin manuscripts containing the legend of Eustace, see the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* and its revisions (Société des Bollandistes 1898-1901: 1, 414-15; also 1911: 116, and Fros 1986: 315-16).

narrative combined motifs from Christian hagiography and secular romance has been one of the sources of its attraction.<sup>30</sup>

Jacobus de Voragine had recourse to this *passio*, and although he remained faithful to the content of the account, he shortened it to around half its length ‘en conservant soigneusement les épisodes les plus romanesques: scènes de retrouvailles entre les fils, entre Placide et son épouse’ (Boureau et al 2004: 1436).<sup>31</sup> Boureau also notes the absence of the customary etymology or any sermons by Voragine on the topic of Eustace, from which he tentatively suggests that the legend was one of those of whose veracity—and therefore appropriateness—the author was uncertain. It may also be indicative of potential problems in transmission.

The legend of Eustace is found only in one manuscript testimony in Compilation B, Escorial h–I–14, edited here as *La vida de Sant Eustachio*.<sup>32</sup> As Chapter Three will show, this manuscript represents a textual tradition that has been reworked to produce a recension that is, of all of the manuscripts, furthest from Voragine’s *Legenda aurea*. Without any surviving intermediate stages that might have been present in an archetype for Compilation B, or even in lost fragments of extant manuscripts, it is much more difficult to assess the changes made upon reworking into Castilian.

Compounding this is the fact that the content of the account in Latin is rather different from those of George or Sebastian. The largest section of the text relates Eustace’s trials rather than his martyrdom. Its setting, motifs,

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<sup>30</sup> The origin of the Eustace narrative has been the object of a large body of research. The early twentieth century saw a number of studies on its position on the thematic borderline between hagiography and romance (Wagner 1903, Gerould 1904, Monteverdi 1910, Delehay 1919, Petersen 1925, Krappe 1926–27, and Murray 1929). In addition, other scholars have examined its role in the romance tradition both in Byzantine works (Heffernan 1975, Perry 1967), and within Castilian romance, particularly its influence on the *Libro del cavallero Zifar* (Harney 1990, Walker 1974).

<sup>31</sup> See Boureau et al (2004: 1435–37) for a fuller history of the Eustace legend before it appeared in the *Legenda aurea*.

<sup>32</sup> Citations from the Castilian legend of Eustace are to this edition, and are in Appendix 1.

and structure borrow heavily from romance, and lend the protagonists deeper psychological complexity. It presents an entirely different branch of hagiography, although one that shares with the legends of George and Sebastian the necessity for imaginative re-creation of the legend. The innovative approach taken by the scribe of *La vida de Sant Eustachio* further complicates this. Some of these points of divergence from the source give an insight into the capabilities and aims of the reworker.

As became apparent with George and Sebastian, there are some omissions of academic or historical interest. For example, the dating of the family's martyrdom is absent: 'Passi sunt autem sub Hadriano, qui coepit circa annum domini CXX calendis Novembr. vel secundum quosdam duodecim calendis Octobr.' (*De sancto Eustachio*, l.226-28).<sup>33</sup> Similarly, the fact that Eustace's journey back to Rome took fifteen days is also omitted (l.146).

Some of the other substantial omissions are concerned with Eustace's suffering, and his spiritual experiences. For example, Eustace's tribulations take on a different significance in the abbreviated Castilian:

Oportet igitur te multa susti-nere,  
ut accipias coronam victo-riæ;  
oportet te multa pati, ut de alta  
saeculi vanitate humilieris et  
rursus in spiritualibus divitiis  
exalteris. Tu ergo ne deficias nec  
ad gloriam pristinam res-picias,  
quia per tentationes op-ortet te  
alterum Job demonstra-ri. Sed  
cum humiliatus fue-ris, veniam ad  
te et in gloriam pristinam  
restituam te, dic ergo, si modo  
tentationes vis accipere aut in fine  
vitae. (l.51-57, my emphasis)

E por ende, conviene de sofrir  
muchas cosas por *que* te omilles  
de la vanidat del siglo *que*  
oviste, enpero serás muy alto en  
las riquezas *spirituales*. Ca con-  
viene *que* te muestres *que* eres  
Job en sufriendo muchas ten-  
taciones en fin de tu vida. (l.52-  
55)

<sup>33</sup> Appendix 3. Further citations are from this text, and are henceforth cited by line number only.

The missing sections refer to glory yet to come, both in the next life and in this. Where the Latin sets Eustace a challenge with a clear goal, the Castilian somewhat obscures the prize, privileging suffering for its own sake. The arbitrary and unexplained nature of these torments emphasises the humility and obedience of Eustace's reaction. This may have a bearing on the reduction of some of the passages in the legend of Sebastian referring to divine apparitions, although the selective nature of the omissions in this case makes it less likely that this occurred by mistake.

Two other omissions are possible errors of sampling. First, when Eustace attempts to cross the river and loses both of his sons, the process is clearly articulated in the *Legenda aurea*, but only implicit in the Castilian:

non est ausus cum duobus filiis  
fluvium pertransire, sed uno  
circa ripam fluminis relicto al-  
terum transportabat. Qui cum  
fluvium transvadasset, illum in-  
fantem, quem bajulaverat, super  
terram posuit et ad accipiendum  
aliu[m] festinavit. Cum autem cir-  
ca medium fluminis pervenisset,  
ecce lupus concitus venit et in-  
fantem, quem deposuerat, ra-  
piens in silvam aufugit. Qui de  
eo desperans ad aliu[m] fes-  
tinavit. Sed cum abiret, leo venit  
et aliu[m] filiu[m] rapiens abiit.  
(1.85-91, my emphasis)

él *non* osó pasar el río *con* estos  
dos fijos. Mas dexando el uno  
cerca la ribera del río, vino un  
lobo apresurado e arrebató el  
niño *que* dexara, e fuése con *él* a  
los montes. E Eustachio, es-  
pantado desto, yvase apriesa  
tras el lobo, e dexó el *otro* niño.  
E yéndose, vino un león e arre-  
bató el *otro* niño e fuése con él.  
(*La vida de Sant Eustachio*, 1.83-  
88)

This omission may be due to the repetition of the word 'fluminis' towards the end of the last transmitted sentence, and as the penultimate word of the lost one. The image of the hapless saint, caught in the middle of a fast-flowing river and attempting to look after both of his children, is impoverished by this omission. The thread of the narrative is also made less obvious.



Secondly, and perhaps more importantly for the typological contrast with Job, the following sentence is missing: 'heu mihi, quia ante, ut arbor, pollebam, sed modo penitus sum nudatus!' (l.102-03). Both this sentence and the next begin with 'heu me' and 'heu mihi', the similarity of which may have caused eyeskip. Here Eustace laments his naked vulnerability and his loneliness. The loss of the first image not only weakens the typology, it also weakens the imagery. Structurally, Eustace is surrounded neither by clothes to keep him warm, nor people to keep him company. The two images strengthen one another, as the loss of either companions or rich clothes causes loneliness, isolation, cold despair, and a feeling of exile; the Castilian recension therefore gives a less pervasive rendering of the image.

By way of contrast to the reductive tendencies seen above, there are a number of emphatic additions, as in the legends of George and Sebastian. These include 'sant', 'grant', 'mucho' (twice), 'mesmo', and 'muy'. There are also phrases of expanded emphasis, such as 'fia en Dios' (l.125) for 'confide' (l.128). Also in this category are the comparatives which represent the stag as more beautiful and bigger than other deer: 'entre los quales vio uno mayor e más fermoso *que* todos los otros' (l.9), absent from the Latin source. The extent to which these emphatic phrases are a measure of Compilation B texts or a feature of Escorial h-I-14 is discussed in Chapter Three.

The need to eliminate ambiguity that would occur in the literal translation from the Latin often gives rise to further expansions of the text. These include prepositions and the repetition of subjects and objects instead of pronouns. However, psychological ambiguity is also evaluated and sometimes expanded. For example, when robbers loot the house, Eustace and his family escape at night because they are ashamed to be left with nothing (l.66-67), a factor not mentioned in the source. Similarly, on the boat, the Castilian version of the legend adds detail to the portrayal of Eustace spending time and suffering mental anguish trying to solve the problem of the predatory shipmaster (l.78). Contrary to other areas in which the text is impoverished, it is possible that the scribe of *La vida de Sant Eustachio* is attempting to create a more human figure of the saint, making

his emotional anxieties explicit.<sup>34</sup> Eustace is not alone in sympathetic portrayal; his wife, begging him to take her back to Rome, appeals to his mercy in an expansion of her speech in Voragine (l.180).

As might be expected from the legends of Sebastian and George, other modifications are on a level of nuance rather than structural or conceptual changes. Once more, vocabulary of social rank and profession is specifically noble: Eustace is 'magister militum' (l.1), rendered as 'maestro de la cavallería' (l.2). Words related to 'miles' are translated a further nine times as 'cavallero', alluding to the mounted military in Castilian. Other vocabulary is transformed into a feudal setting:

Post paucos igitur dies mors  
pestifera cunctos servos et ancillas  
ipsius invasit et universos  
occidit; deinde post aliquod  
tempus omnes equi et omnia  
ejus pecora subito interierunt.  
(l.63-65)

E a cabo de *tiempo* murieron  
todos sus cavalleros e sus  
bestias. E a cabo de *tiempo*  
murieron todas sus *compañas* e  
todos sus vasallos e todos sus  
ganados. (l.61-63)

Here the scribe gives a free and somewhat confused translation of what died, and how it died. The mention of 'cavalleros' and 'vasallos' instantly locates the legend in a medieval society rather than a Roman one.

The difference in lexis also seeps into wider concepts. For example, Eustace's wife proclaims that she was kept safe from all 'corruptione' (l.192). However, corruption becomes a synonym for low or base behaviour specifically linked to non-nobility, as it is rendered in Castilian as 'villanía' (l.188). In the Latin, the reason for her escape is the sailor's death: 'potius eam intactam dimittens vitam finivit' (l.116). The Castilian gives a different version of events: 'e nunca ovo *que* baratar con ella *aquel que* la tenía, e nunca le fazié ninguna desonrra' (l.110-11). This rendering emphasises her honour

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<sup>34</sup> This fits in with the figure of the lamenting king in George, whose speeches are expanded in the same manuscript, and will be discussed in depth in Chapters Three and Four.

and suggests that the miraculous protection was ongoing rather than only present during the sailor's lifetime.

In summary, despite its inconsistently applied expansive and dramatic approach, the modifications made by the scribe of Escorial h-I-14 provide the reader with a rather more faithful rendering of Voragine's *Legenda aurea* that was seen in the legends of George or Sebastian. As the source text has little in the way of doctrinal or academic explanation, there is little scope for the scribe to privilege narrative even further. The borrowings from romance are consistent with this tendency and make cuts less necessary.

However, other trends are also apparent: emphatic phrasing and interjections are provided throughout, and contemporary and socially-specific vocabulary is consistently given. Some passages are subject to *abbreviatio*, others victims to human error. Although care must be taken not to confuse a single (and dynamic) manuscript with the entirety of Compilation B, these tendencies are also apparent in the legends of Sebastian and George, and may underlie some of the methodological principles of the original reworker.

## Conclusions

Although the Castilian texts of Compilation B remain fairly faithful to their Latin source, comparison between them points towards two fundamental elements of the translator's methodology: *abbreviatio* and enlivenment. All three texts are stripped of some doctrinal material and commentaries, and historical or academic information, and many points of spiritual enlightenment have been reworked for concision. Simultaneously, many of the additions to the Castilian legends appear to have been included in order to make the text more vivid and exciting.

The primacy of narrative over historical authentication or doctrinal precision makes it likely that Compilation B may have been designed to be a repository of sermon material. This is also suggested by codicological evidence, as the patchy quality of the manuscripts is reflected by errors of literary transmission such as omissions. These are workmanlike objects; the

texts they contain are entirely in keeping with this quality of functionality. The narratives provide raw and concise material that could easily be adapted into sermons. The manuscripts of *Compilation B* appear to be one of the tools used by orders such as the Franciscans or Dominicans (of whom Jacobus de Voragine was one) translated into a vernacular setting, and aimed at an audience that seems to disregard academic details in the hope of an edifying and entertaining story.

## Chapter Three

### The Manuscripts of Compilation B

The publication of an article on the manuscripts of Compilation A by Billy Bussell Thompson and John K. Walsh in 1986-87 was a seminal moment in the study of vernacular hagiographic trends in medieval Castile. The appearance of further work in the area has continued to strengthen their hypothesis concerning the existence of two broad families. The first of these, Compilation A, was outlined in Chapter One; in this Chapter I examine the textual, palaeographic, and codicological evidence presented by the manuscripts of Compilation B to see if it is possible to define the relationships between them in more concrete terms.<sup>1</sup>

The manuscripts that Thompson and Walsh listed in Compilation B are Escorial h-I-14, Escorial K-II-12, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419 (and its later relative Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid 5548), and Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo 8 and 9 (1986-87, 22n1).<sup>2</sup> Escorial M-II-6 may also be added to this group; Thompson and Walsh are hesitant to place it within either Compilation, but do not go so far as to pronounce it an independent manuscript. With the exception of BMP 8, which has been edited in its entirety by Fernando Baños Vallejo and Isabel Uría Maqua (2000), the editions appended to this thesis present testimonies from all of the Compilation B texts.

The range of approaches to translation in Compilation B is diverse. Chapter Two provided an outline of the material that was reworked, and some of the large-scale textual changes that occurred when the legends were recast in Castilian, giving a sense of the family's character and possible purpose as sermon material repositories. However, even within this group

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<sup>1</sup> For the two manuscripts that do not fit into either Compilation, see Chapter 1n5.

<sup>2</sup> Hereafter known respectively as Escorial h-I-14, Escorial K-II-12, FLG 419, BNM 5548, BMP 8, and BMP 9.

of manuscripts there is great variation in terms of textual elaboration or abridgement, physical luxury or functionality, and possible dates and places of origin. The Compilation represents a heterogeneous collection of strategies towards the same hagiographic content. For this reason, it is harder to reconstruct the precise nature of the relationships between the texts. However, it is precisely the richness of these variations that make the Compilation such a fertile object of study.

Few scholars have followed Thompson and Walsh in engaging with Compilation B. The poor condition of some of the manuscripts, particularly BMP 9, and the fragmentary nature of nearly all of them promise little in the way of a full understanding of their affiliation. Andrew M. Beresford highlights the lack of scholarly attention in his forthcoming book on the medieval Castilian prose legends of Saints Agatha and Lucy by stating that 'remarkably little is known about the scope, orientation, or purpose of the Compilation as a whole' (forthcoming).<sup>3</sup> Until the last decade or so, only a handful of the legends had been edited; recent work has done much to further the debate, but understanding of the family remains partial.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to him for allowing me to read his work prior to publication.

<sup>4</sup> Apart from the edition of BMP 8 by Baños Vallejo & Uría Maqua (2000), published editions of legends from Compilation B include Agatha from BMP 8, BMP 9, FLG 419, Escorial K-II-12, and Escorial h-I-14 (Beresford in press); Agnes from BMP 9, FLG 419, Escorial K-II-12, and Escorial h-I-14 (Beresford 2007b: 85-92); Alexis from FLG 419, Escorial K-II-12, Escorial h-I-14, and Escorial M-II-6 (Vega 1991: 83-96); Christopher from BMP 8, FLG 419, Escorial K-II-12, and Escorial h-I-14 (Buxton 2006: 98-117); Dominic of Guzmán from Escorial K-II-12 (Menéndez Pidal 1966: 505-06, Barbadillo de la Fuente 1985); Ildephonsus from FLG 419 (Romero Tobar 1978-80); Lucy from BMP 8, BMP 9, FLG 419, Escorial K-II-12, and Escorial h-I-14 (Beresford in press); Mary of Egypt from BMP 8, Escorial K-II-12, Escorial h-I-14, and Escorial M-II-6 (Thompson & Walsh 1977: 35-46), and from BMP 8 and FLG 419 (Scarborough 1994); Mary Magdalene from BMP 8 (Walsh & Thompson 1986); Patrick from BMP 8 and Escorial h-I-14 (Mulertt 1926); Pelagia from Escorial h-I-14 (Beresford 2007a: 139-40); Thaïs from Escorial h-I-14 (Beresford 2007a: 135-36); and Toribius from Escorial K-II-12 (Walsh & Thompson 1987). Editions of legends from the eighteenth-century copy of FLG 419, BNM 5548, include Mary of Egypt (Scarborough 1994).

Attempts to build such a complex set of manuscripts into a critical edition have led to various theories about the nature of the relationships between the texts. Studies dealing with Compilation B often sidestep the issue of affiliation; for example, in their edition of *Mary of Egypt* (1977), Thompson and Walsh present the relevant texts from Compilation B as synoptically edited appendices to the separate tradition testified by *Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* 780 and *Escorial* h-III-22. Their discussion of affiliation in the legend of *Mary of Egypt* is restricted to the material presented by the two manuscripts which are the focus of the research. Further to this, Thompson and Walsh argued that every saint's life should be edited separately, rather than being combined into critical editions, in order to preserve the independent character and voice of each manuscript (1977: IX). Connie L. Scarborough continued their work by publishing her edition of FLG 419, and comparing it to the version found in BMP 8 (1994). However, although these transcriptions are useful tools, there is little attempt to go beyond the relationship between BMP 8 and FLG 419 to situate them in the wider context of the Compilation.

Carlos Alberto Vega, editing the life of Alexis, chose FLG 419 as his base text for a critical edition (1991: 83-85). As the latest text (c. 1450-75) of the four Compilation B manuscripts containing the legend, this is a surprising choice. He gives little reason for this editorial decision, and despite the usefulness of an exhaustive critical apparatus for comparative purposes, it somewhat obscures the tone of each of the four texts.

Andrew M. Beresford, editing the life of Agnes (2007a), attempts to find a workable solution to this problem (36-39). He tentatively suggests *Escorial* h-I-14 as a base text, on the grounds that it is the oldest manuscript that may be dated accurately (to 1427), despite the fact that its revisions and expansions to the Latin original complicate it. BMP 9 he admits to be equally suitable in terms of its archaic textual features and evidence of its high reliability, but dismisses it because of its extensive lacunae. The later text of FLG 419, he argues, although close to BMP 9, has been updated and modified, and these changes obscure the older features of the text. Finally, he labels *Escorial* K-II-12 a 'rogue copy' (38), citing its

unclear methodology of reworking, frequent nonsensical departures from source content, and inelegant choice of language, although it does often share qualities with Escorial h-I-14.

In an even more recent study, Vanesa Hernández Amezcua approaches the problem from the perspective of her thesis on the affiliation of all Castilian prose hagiography (2008), rather than as an editor. She notes the complexity of the Compilation:

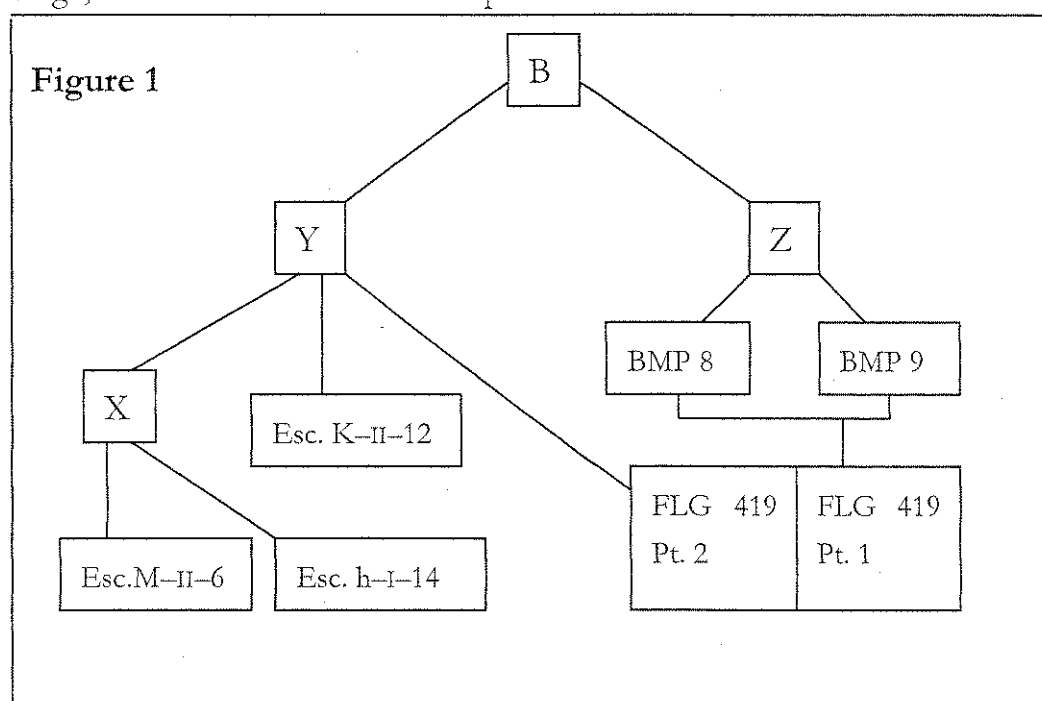
En este caso [that of Compilation B] existen muchas diferencias y resulta verdaderamente complejo vislumbrar posibles familias o subarquetipos. Parece que los copistas de la Compilación B obraron con mucha más libertad que los de la A, utilizando probablemente más fuentes y refundiéndolas a su gusto. (304)

Following José Aragües Aldaz (in press), she agrees with a hypothesis that would divide the Compilation into two halves: B1 contains the three Escorial manuscripts, and B2, comprising BMP 8, BMP 9, and FLG 419. B1, she argues, follows the Latin ordering of the readings more closely, and B2, given the fragmentary collection of legends and their rearrangement, must therefore have been influenced by B1. The examples she chooses to illustrate the proximity of B1 to Jacobus de Voragine (305-06) are valid, but her argument is dangerously weakened by a lack of extensive close textual analysis, which would show that in some cases the texts of B2 are closer to the Latin. The Escorial manuscripts may follow an order that is generally more consistent than BMP 8, BMP 9, and FLG 419, and they may seem less fragmentary, but this does not counter the textual evidence that shows them to modify their sources more than the manuscripts of B2. Furthermore, her conclusions on Compilation B (374) fail to recognise the relationship between B1 and B2; namely, that Escorial K-II-12 shares many readings in the same order as the second cycle of FLG 419. Her dependence on codicological evidence and familiarity with the legends and their order in each manuscript is a severe point of weakness. Although her thesis had the potential to be extremely useful, it is restricted by the fact that even a cursory close-text analysis shows the Compilation to be far more complex. In terms of edition, she recommends a base text of Escorial h-I-14, with



erroneous readings corrected by Escorial K-II-12 (391), despite the substantial modifications made by the former, and frequent misreadings in the latter.

Although Hernández Amez reaches the same base text as Beresford, her reasons are based on the extension of Escorial h-I-14, rather than its textual validity and sustained fidelity to the source. His approach to the manuscript is far more cautious. In his edition of *Agatha and Lucy* (forthcoming) he suggests the stemma reproduced at Figure 1. He hypothesises that there was a single reworking of the *Legenda aurea*, B, an archetype for the whole Compilation which has now been lost. At a later stage, B was reworked twice in separate contexts to create Z and Y.<sup>5</sup>



<sup>5</sup> A number of legends have not been transmitted from the *Legenda aurea* into Compilation B, either by deliberate omission, faulty sources, or later damage to manuscripts. These are Advent (1), Paul of Thebes (15), Remy (16), Hilary (17), Macarius (18), Felix (19), Marcellus (20), Fabian (22), Paula (29), Septuagesima (31), Sexagesima (32), Quinquagesima (33), Quadragesima (34), Ember Day Fasts (35), Vaast (40), Sophia (48), Timothy (52), Fabian (again) (64), Apollonia (66), Boniface (71), Praxedes (95), John Chrysostom (138), Fursey (144), Elizabeth (168), Pastor (175), Abbot John (176), Abbot Moses (177), Abbot Arsenius (178), Abbot Agathon (179), Barlaam and Josaphat (180), Pelagius, pope: the history of the Lombards (181), and Dedication of a Church (182). The numbering refers to chapters in the edition by Graesse (1846).

Beresford argues that one of the lost reworkings, *Z*, is the archetype for BMP 8 and BMP 9. *Z* is characterised by its modification of the position of the legend of Julian, and the addition of the local saint, Mammes. Although there are some differences between BMP 8 and BMP 9, it is more likely that points of divergence are due to the process of reworking that occurred on transition from *B* to *Z*, rather than by the scribes of the individual manuscripts. BMP 8 and BMP 9 were later conflated and modernised to create the first eighty-three readings of FLG 419.

On the other side of the stemma, a lost intermediary reworking termed *Y* introduced some changes to the Compilation as a whole, such as adding the legend of Barbara, and inverting those of Euphemia and Lambert. From this text, Beresford suggests that Escorial K-II-12 and the second half of FLG 419 were descended. The creator of the former adds some apocryphal legends not testified elsewhere, but remains reasonably faithful to the Latin source. In the process of transmission from *Y* to the second half of FLG 419, the legend of Ildephonsus is added, along with three further readings in Latin, while some accounts are omitted. There is textual and structural evidence to suggest that *Y* was reworked further in another lost archetype, *X*. From here, Escorial M-II-6 and Escorial h-I-14 took their origins with minor and major textual alterations respectively.

Beresford's work, due to the paucity of edited texts, is based on samples, and the inclusion, omission, and ordering of the legends contained in each manuscript. His work forms the point of departure for the study of the manuscripts presented here. My study of the legend of Christopher in Compilation B (2006) substantiated his argument, leading to separate synoptic editions of the readings presented in Escorial h-I-14 and Escorial K-II-12, as well as a critical edition of the legend in BMP 8 and FLG 419.<sup>6</sup> This chapter also follows the broad scheme of his stemma to examine the extent to which his theories hold in the light of the three legends presented in the appendices.

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<sup>6</sup> The legend of Christopher is found only in these four manuscripts; it is not testified in Compilation A, Escorial h-I-13, or BNM 10252.

### Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo 8 and 9

Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo 9 (BMP 9) contains accounts of the legends of Sebastian (fols 11<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>v</sup>) and George (fols 58<sup>rb</sup>-59<sup>va</sup>).<sup>7</sup> It is bound together with a counterpart, Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo 8 (BMP 8), which has been edited in its entirety by Fernando Baños Vallejo and Isabel Uría Maqua (2000). BMP 8 is the only manuscript not to be edited here, as it does not contain any of the three legends which form the focus of the thesis.<sup>8</sup> However, whereas BMP 8 has survived the ravages of time relatively unscathed, BMP 9 is in a poor state. It has several significant lacunae. It is damaged at the top and at the bottom, probably by mould, and the outer side margins have been inaccurately cropped for binding, leaving some line endings incomplete, some by as much as several words. Beresford (forthcoming) records the extent of the damage, and legibility problems specific to the legends of Sebastian and George can be seen at Appendix 2, where sample xeroxes of the manuscript are given.

Descriptions of the manuscript draw attention to the poor condition of BMP 9.<sup>9</sup> Baños Vallejo and Uría Maqua (2000: 61) state that there were no editions of any text from BMP 9 at the time of their publication, due to its decrepit state. However, Beresford (2007a) used the manuscript to provide variants for a critical edition of the legend of Saint Agnes, and does the

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<sup>7</sup> BMP 9 is incorporated into *Sant Jorge mártir* and *Sant Sebastián mártir* as a variant (Appendix 1). However, in order to give the reader a clearer picture of the manuscript, I cite here by folio reference.

<sup>8</sup> Descriptions of the manuscript are given by Artigas & Sánchez Reyes (1957: I, 16-18), Baños Vallejo & Uría Maqua (2000: 19-23), Hernández Amez (2008: 241-43) and Beresford (forthcoming).

<sup>9</sup> See Artigas (1930: 18-21), Thompson & Walsh (1986-87), Baños Vallejo & Uría Maqua (2000: 60-61), González Pascual (2000: 183-90), Hernández Amez (2008: 253-55), and Beresford (forthcoming). Hernández Amez gives a particularly full codicological and historical description, including some previously unpublished palaeographic analysis.

same for his analyses of the legends of Agatha and Lucy (forthcoming). Furthermore, Natalie Watkinson's forthcoming doctoral thesis contains an edition of the legend of Saint Cecilia using it as a base text. However, the reading of Cecilia is uniquely free from lacunae. More typically, the high frequency of lacunae makes it an unsuitable basis for variation at most points.

Watkinson's approach testifies to the fact that although the text of BMP 9 is badly damaged, it is early, and relatively free from error. Its measures of self-correction suggest that it was subject to an editorial process after its creation. For example, fol. 11<sup>v</sup> gives the word 'Faviano' above the line between 'el alcalde' and 'non ay', and later on the same folio the word 'Tiburcio' has 'Faviano' written above it, but crossed out again. In the legend of George, fol. 58<sup>rb</sup> has the word 'oveja' crossed out and the word 'muger' inserted above it. Similarly, on fol. 59<sup>ra</sup> there is also an example of a letter erased with a line through it, and a longer phrase corrected. There also seems to be a catchword at the bottom of 58<sup>vb</sup>, although it may have been erased at a later stage.

Artigas (1930: 16-18) dates BMP 8 to the fourteenth century, due to its high number of archaic linguistic features, such as the consistent use of the archaic imperfect. However, Baños Vallejo and Uría Maqua (2000: 60) argue that it is a fifteenth-century copy (up to 1425) of an earlier original. The close relationship between the two Menéndez Pelayo manuscripts—they were bound together before 1593, and show similar language, variant patterns, and scribal hands—suggests that their conclusions on BMP 8 are also applicable to BMP 9.

Beresford's hypothetical stemma suggests that BMP 8 and BMP 9 were descended from a common archetype, termed Z, on the basis of two compositional facts. Firstly, the legend of the local saint Mammes is added to this strand of the compilation.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, the feast of Julian of Le Mans is moved from 27 January to 21 June, which Beresford explains as confusion with his namesake, Julian of Tarsus. Furthermore, discounting the thirty-two

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<sup>10</sup> Edited by Baños Vallejo & Uría Maqua (2000: 51-58).

legends not found in any of the manuscripts, sixty-nine legends have been lost either at the point of Z's composition, or through damage sustained to BMP 8 and BMP 9.<sup>11</sup>

Baños Vallejo and Uría Maqua (2000) consider BMP 8 a fragmentary manuscript. They attribute this to the clear sections missing from the beginning and the end, which would cover the liturgical year prior to 22 February and after 15 August. However, they also identify a vague tendency towards selection on the part of the scribe: 'Lo único que podemos concluir es que el traductor tomó lo que a él más le interesó, de acuerdo con su devoción e intereses y los de su entorno' (30). The strategy of the translator or copyist is that of *abbreviatio*, where legends are reduced in terms of content (particularly narrative detail and theological content), in order to make the legendary more accessible. They cite the systematic omission of Voragine's etymologies in Compilation B, and the reduction of doctrinal commentary and number of posthumous miracles, and the omission of dates, places, and sections that cast clerics in a poor light. Voragine's own

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<sup>11</sup> The feasts not present in the strand of Compilation B descended from Z, in addition to those listed in note 5 above, are Anastasia (7), Holy Innocents (10), Thomas of Canterbury (11), the Circumcision (13), Vincent (25), John the Almsgiver (27), Ignatius (36), Amand (41), Valentine (42), Juliana (43), Secundus (55), Marcellinus (60), Vitalis (61), the Virgin of Antioch (62), Peter Martyr (63), Gordianus and Epimachus (74), Nereus and Achilleus (75), Pancratius (76), Urban (77), Vitus and Modestus (82), Marina (84), Leo (88), The Seven Brothers (91), Theodora (92), Alexis (94), Apollinaris (97), Christina (98), Nazarius and Celsus (102), Felix (103), Simplicius and Faustinus (104), Abdon and Sennen (106), Germain (107), Eusebius (108), Holy Maccabees (109), Dominic (113), Donatus (115), Cyriacus (116), Bernard (120), Symphorian (122), Augustine (124), Felix and Adactus (126), Savinian and Savina (127), Lupus (128), Mamertinus (129), Giles (130), Lambert (133), Adrian (134), Gorgonius and Dorotheus (135), Euphemia (139), Maurice (141), Justina (142), Cosmas and Damian (143), Remy [altered version] (147), Leger (148), Pelagia (150), Margaret (151), Thaïs (152), Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius (153), Callistus (154), Leonard (155), Chysanthus and Daria (156), the Eleven Thousand Virgins (158), Quentin (160), Eustace (161), the Four Crowned Martyrs (164), Theodore (165), Chrysogonus (171), Saturninus, Perpetua, and Felicity (173), and James the Dismembered (174).

reservations about the content, and some of the more crude passages also fall victim to this approach. They conclude:

[el traductor] se propuso redactar un texto más sencillo, aligerado de doctrina, menos problemático, centrado en los acontecimientos, con atención a lo más llamativo, en general más apto para el gran público. Además de una traducción es, pues, una vulgarización de la *Legenda aurea*.  
(33)

Although willing to comment on the microcosmic level of attitudes towards transmission, Baños Vallejo and Uría Maqua feel that the larger approach towards selection or rejection of entire legends is due to loss rather than intention, and already present at the archetype.

Beresford (forthcoming) argues that the omission of the thirty-two readings not found in Compilation B, and the further pruning at the point of Z, may have occurred as a result of a conscious process of selection. The criteria include a preference for early Christian and New Testament saints, an aversion to popes and theologians, such as Ambrose, Marcellinus, Urban and Dominic, and to some of the more far-fetched martyr narratives, particularly female. In this last class would fit George, who is not present in BMP 8, although his legend is included in BMP 9. Beresford terms this omission a 'deliberate strategy'. The liturgical-sanctoral period covered by BMP 8 includes the feast for George, who would normally come between Ambrose (57) and Mark (59). The reading for Ambrose is not present, possibly due to the process of selection removing theologians, so the manuscript moves from Mary of Egypt (56) to Mark, omitting Ambrose and George without a codicological reason for a lacuna.

By contrast, in BMP 9 George's legend is tagged on at the end of the manuscript, along with those concerning Longinus (47), Ambrose, the Seven Sleepers (101), and Jerome (146), in a section comprising folios 56<sup>rb</sup>-62<sup>ra</sup>. The manuscript is subject to a lacuna between the legends of Agatha (39) and the reading for the Ascension (72). Whether this was present in the immediate source of BMP 9, or an accident befell the codex during composition or shortly afterwards, a scribe has deliberately returned to add the important legends of Longinus, Ambrose, and George, which would

have fallen into this gap. A similar lacuna affects the section that would have contained the legend of the Seven Sleepers, explaining its incorporation at the end.

It is possible that the composer of BMP 9 had access to BMP 8, or a similarly incomplete text descended from the same intermediary archetype. Where BMP 8 runs through its cycle in an order that more or less concurs with that given by Voragine, at least part of BMP 9 shows evidence of having its origin in a similar archetype.<sup>12</sup> Of the forty-four readings in BMP 8 and the sixty-three in BMP 9, twenty-four overlap. They share, in the same order, the thirteen readings included between the feast of the Ascension (at the end of the first notable lacuna in BMP 9) and that of Paul (90), which marks the beginning of the next lacuna. After this second lacuna, they share a further nine readings, also in the same order, between the legend of Martha (105) and the feast of the Assumption (119), where BMP 8 ends prematurely. The two remaining overlapping readings are Longinus (47), and the Exaltation of the Cross (137). The repetition of the latter could be explained by a binder noticing the premature conclusion of BMP 8 and adding the extra reading, thus duplicating the reading given in BMP 9. However, the legend of Longinus remains the only duplicate not to fit in a sequence. Given that it falls out of order in BMP 9, and the scribe has specifically broken the liturgical-sanctoral sequence so that it may be included, the five readings appended to BMP 9 take on a special importance, and suggest a degree of independence from BMP 8.

The readings present in BMP 9 that do not duplicate BMP 8 fall into sections. The first seventeen run in more or less the order that the *Legenda aurea* would suggest, taking the reader to the start of the first lacuna. These cover the beginning of the liturgical-sanctoral cycle, which is missing from BMP 8, and include that of Sebastian. The only duplicated reading in this

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<sup>12</sup> The textual proximity between BMP 8 and BMP 9 is an interesting line of inquiry. Examining readings present in both manuscripts is likely to be a fruitful exercise, although not one that fits in the scope of this thesis, due to the fact that BMP 8 does not contain the legends of George or Sebastian.

first cycle is that of Julian, which fits into a later sequence due to the confusion with his namesake, as mentioned above. The following thirteen readings give the first sequence duplicated by BMP 8, and the nine after that form the second shared sequence.

The following nineteen readings offer a selection of the fifty-two readings covering a later portion of the calendar, showing a clear sense of design. Only the legend for Cornelius and Cyprian falls out of the order given in the *Legenda aurea*, as it has been restored to its traditional feast day. On the basis of this section, Beresford's theory that BMP 9 has been compiled on its preference for a certain type of saint is convincing. Of the fifty-two readings covered by Voragine in the same portion of the liturgical cycle, all ten of the Biblical saints or feasts are included. Only two of the nine female saints for this section appear in BMP 9 (Cecilia and Catherine). A further six legends associated with martyrdom are included (Timothy, Cornelius and Cyprian, Protus and Hyacinthus, Martin, his deacon Brice, and Clement), whilst a further fifteen *passiones* are discarded, amongst them Eustace, who appears nowhere in this side of Beresford's stemma. The remaining account gives the legend of Francis of Assisi. Notably absent from this section are confessor saints with a political bent, such as Leonard, Giles, and Bernard.

In light of this, the remaining five readings inserted at the end of the manuscript, out of liturgical order, raise as many questions as they answer. The repetition of Longinus is difficult to explain. One possible theory is that the composer of BMP 9 had access to BMP 8 and could not find Longinus (perhaps significantly, a New Testament saint) in the usual place for the reading, due to the omission of the account of Gregory. It therefore appears earlier than normal, and Patrick, whose legend is supposed to follow it, has been written out twice. So instead of appearing between the legends of Gregory and Benedict, Longinus' legend appears between those for Matthias and Patrick (for the first time). This absence from its usual position may have prompted the gap-filling scribe to repeat the legend at the end.

The inclusion of Ambrose and George seems to either be the correction of an unintentional lacuna, or a change in approach towards



theologians and the more fantastic martyr narratives. If this is a change in design between the Menéndez Pelayo manuscripts, this would indicate that sensational martyr narratives were controversial but popular. The legend of the Seven Sleepers is a similarly legendary narrative, and undergoes a parallel process. The inclusion of Jerome may indicate the same sort of shift as the incorporation of Ambrose; major doctrinal figures may not make the most gripping subjects for narrative, but are too important to be omitted from hagiographic compendia.

Both the legend of Sebastian, near the beginning of the manuscript and composed in a single column, and the legend of George, near the end, composed in two columns, show signs of damage at the top of the folios. This results in the loss of some full lines of text, and partially obscures later ones. The reading of George is also poorly cropped, removing text from the outer margin of the page. The mediocre quality of the manuscript, its reasonably small size, and its undecorated, somewhat cramped writing suggest functionality and the capacity to contain a large amount of text at the minimum expense and resources.<sup>13</sup>

Design and purpose of a manuscript may also be reflected in the textual detail itself. The accounts of George and Sebastian given in BMP 9 are amongst the most faithful to the Latin of Jacobus de Voragine in Compilation B. Further to those changes that were probably introduced at the point of the archetype's creation, discussed in Chapter Two, other details suggest more characteristics of the manuscript.

However, alterations specific to BMP 9 also occur. In the scene where the dragon is killed, the following is given:<sup>14</sup>

Tunc rex et omnes populi	Estonce el rey e todo el pueblo
baptizati sunt, beatus autem	bautizáronse. E George sacó la
Georgius evaginato gladio drac-	espada e mató el dragón, e
onem occidit et ipsum extra	mandól echar fuera de la cibdat

<sup>13</sup> González Pascual (2000: 80) notes that BMP 9 has the highest ratio of written space to unwritten space; 89% of an average folio is covered by text.

<sup>14</sup> All Latin citations can be found in Appendix 3.

civitatem efferri praecepit. <u>Tunc</u>	en un campo (fol. 58 <sup>vb</sup> )
<u>quatuor paria boum ipsum in</u>	
<u>magnum campum foras dux-</u>	
<u>erunt</u> ( <i>De sancto Georgio</i> , l.80-83,	
my emphasis)	

This omission, marked by underlining, is also attested in FLG 419, a later relative of BMP 9, although it is present in every other manuscript.<sup>15</sup> The size of the dragon is emphasised by the four pairs of oxen needed to drag it out of the city once it has been killed, drawing attention to George's bravery and achievement. Given the uncontroversial nature of the missing sentence, and the fact that other manuscripts provide it, this is probably an error in sampling that usefully reinforces the dividing line between those texts descended from Beresford's Z and his Y.

BMP 9 also shows evidence of adding to the text. Despite the damage caused by misjudged cropping of the margins, this is clear from the passage where George's persecutor challenges the saint's intentions when invited to visit the temple with him:

Intelligo fraudem tuam, quia vis	Entendiendo el tu en[...]ño <i>que</i>
me facere absorberi, sicuttem-	<i>quieres fazer, non te quiero cre-</i>
plum et Deos meos absorberi	<i>yer, ca bien [...] que quieres que</i>
fecisti. ( <i>De sancto Georgio</i> , l.159-	<i>me sorviesse la tierra assí como</i>
60)	<i>ya [...]ziste sorver el tenplo.</i>
	(fol. 59 <sup>rb</sup> )

Here, the manuscript restructures the syntax and adds several phrases. In particular, the addition of 'non te quiero creer' and 'bien sé' (extrapolated from the later FLG 419, which gives a very similar version of the sentence) underline the arrogance of Dacianus, and his underlying unwillingness to

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<sup>15</sup> FLG 419 reads: 'Entonce el rey e todo el pueblo baptizáronse. E Giorje sacó el espada e mató al dragón, e mandólo echar fuera de la cibdat en un canpo' (fol. 46<sup>ra</sup>).

turn to the Christian faith.<sup>16</sup>

Emphatic interjections and repetitions, particularly of emotional or spiritual support, are also common throughout the George narrative. BMP 9 underlines it with additional phrases such as ‘quiso Dios que’ (fol. 58<sup>vb</sup>) and ‘por gracia de Dios’ (fol. 59<sup>ra</sup>), not found in the Latin, or other manuscripts in Compilation B, with the exception of FLG 419.<sup>17</sup>

There are also changes present in BMP 9 that attempt to clarify the text. Particularly in the legend of Sebastian, where the multiplicity of characters is apt to cause confusion, the manuscript shows alterations for the benefit of the audience. For example, Zoë, wife of Nicostratus, enters around a third of the way into the Latin narrative, and disappears for a second third of it. Upon her reintroduction, Voragine gives: ‘Zoe autem ab infidelibus tenta et diu cruciata emisit spiritum’ (*De sancto Sebastiano*, l.112). BMP 9 gives a reminder: ‘Zoe la dicha, teniéndola los gentiles e atormentándola, murió, e fuésse a parraýso’ (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>, my emphasis).<sup>18</sup> It is also of note that the extrapolation of her death from ‘emisit spiritum’, echoing the words of Christ’s death (Matthew 27:50) to a double image both of Zoë’s death, and of her arrival in paradise.

In brief, BMP 9 represents a textual tradition that appears to privilege the legends of Biblical saints, fathers of the Church, and other saints who inspire particularly widespread or devoted followings. Although a manuscript in poor condition, it contains some of the most faithful representations of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea* present in Compilation B. This state of damage is the only feature that impedes its use as a base text for the editions appended to this thesis. Its main aims in the process of reworking appear to be fidelity to the source, clarity, and

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<sup>16</sup> FLG 419 gives: ‘Entendiendo el tu engaño que tú quierres fazer, non te ~~quiero~~ creer, ca bien sé que querriás que me sorviesse la tierra así como feziste ~~la tie~~ el tenplo’ (fols 46<sup>vb</sup>-47<sup>ra</sup>).

<sup>17</sup> The equivalent passages are both at fol. 46<sup>va</sup> of FLG 419.

<sup>18</sup> The equivalent passage of FLG 419 is: ‘E teniendo los gentiles a la muger sobredicha e atormentándola, murió e fuésse *para* parayso’ (fol. 19<sup>rb</sup>).

expansion of scenes of emotional warmth and drama. Its linguistic and palaeographic features suggest a date of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century; as such, it is possibly the oldest manuscript in Compilation B.

### Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419

Like BMP 9, FLG 419 contains recensions of the legends of George and Sebastian.<sup>19</sup> Although it is descended from the same archetype as BMP 8 and 9, it is not a direct copy of either. BMP 9 and FLG 419 form the closest affiliation visible of the five manuscripts considered here, as footnotes above testify.<sup>20</sup> Baños Vallejo and Uría Maqua (2000: 61-62) agree with Charles Faulhaber's estimated date of between 1450 and 1475 (1997), placing it half a century later than BMP 9. Its main textual variants from BMP 8 and 9 stem from the use of the modern imperfect rather than the archaic form, and some other lexical and grammatical updating.

FLG 419 is a clear, well-preserved manuscript, with decorated initials. The rubrics are in red ink, as are paragraph dividers. The text is in a number of semi-gothic hands, usually clear, with relatively few abbreviations. Some slight errors are made, such as between columns a and b of fol. 46, where a syllable is repeated to make the word 'respon|pondió'. Generally, it is a legible and attractive text.<sup>21</sup>

Published editions of FLG 419 include Ildephonsus (Romero Tobar 1978-80: 293-318), Alexis (Vega 1991: 87-96), Mary of Egypt (Scarborough

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<sup>19</sup> FLG 419 is the base text for *Sant Jorge mártir* and *Sant Sebastián mártir*, to be found in Appendix 1. However, in order to give the reader a clearer picture of the manuscript, I cite here by folio reference.

<sup>20</sup> Naturally, the eighteenth-century copy of FLG 419, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid 5548 establishes an even closer connection, but as this manuscript is from a much later date, it lies outside the remit of this project. Published editions of readings from BNM 5548 and Mary of Egypt (Scarborough 1994).

<sup>21</sup> Descriptions of the manuscript can be found in Yeves (1998: 186), Baños Vallejo and Uría Maqua (2000: 61-63), Hernández Amez (2008: I, 214-17), and Beresford (forthcoming).

1994, a later companion work to Thompson & Walsh 1977), Christopher (Buxton 2006: 108-17), and Agnes (Beresford 2007a: 85-87). Mulertt (1926) did not cover the legend of Saint Patrick in this manuscript when he edited other texts in the compilation. Baños Vallejo and Uría Maqua (2000: 61) state that Walsh and Thompson announced the forthcoming edition of Patrick in 1986, but that it never appeared. Also of interest is María Jesús Lacarra's edition of the 'enxemplo de un obispo que bivía deleitosamente' (1996). Although not part of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, this text, bordering between hagiography and *exemplum* narrative, is included in FLG 419 (fols 154<sup>va</sup>-55<sup>tb</sup>).<sup>22</sup>

Beresford (forthcoming) argues convincingly that FLG 419 has a bipartite structure, which should be analysed as two separate halves in terms of textual provenance. The initial eighty-three readings of the manuscript, of which those for Sebastian and George form part, come from sources very close to BMP 8 and 9. The process of composition appears to have had the twin aims of conflating the different legendaries to make it a more complete entity, and of modernising the archaic text. If, as Beresford suggests, BMP 8 and 9 were copied from fourteenth-century originals, the language would have been at least fifty years out of date by the time FLG 419 was composed.

In compiling legends from BMP 8 or a text similar to it, the scribes of FLG 419 removed the extra account of Patrick, but otherwise maintain the same order. They keep Julian (30) at his new feast date between the feast of Gervasius and Protasius (85) and the birth of John the Baptist (86), and include Mammes at the same point as he occurs in both BMP 8 and 9. This shows clear evidence of the provenance of the text in FLG 419.

In transferring from BMP 9 to FLG 419, the legend of Thomas (5) is restored to its usual place, as are those of Blaise (38) and Agatha (39). The legends appended to BMP 9 (Longinus, Ambrose, George, the Seven Sleepers, and Jerome) are all restored to Voragine's order. The only two

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<sup>22</sup> This is also found in BMP 9, fols 7<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>v</sup>, confused with the reading for the Birth of Christ.

features not predictable by an examination of BMP 8 and 9 are the addition of Vincent (25), and the inclusion of the Birth of Christ (6) at the end of the sequence of eighty-three readings. However, upon closer inspection, the latter actually contains the legend of the licentious bishop of Magdeburg, placed at this point between the two sections of the manuscript (see Lacarra 1996). Otherwise, with the exception of Julian, the readings follow in total agreement with Voragine's ordering.

The omission of Vincent from BMP 8 can be explained by the loss of the section of the manuscript that may have included the legend. BMP 9, on the other hand, gives a reading for Agnes (24) and for Basil (26), but omits Vincent, either deliberately or because its direct source had omitted it. The fact that it is restored in FLG 419, which otherwise gives no readings in its first sequence of eighty-three that are not present in either Menéndez Pelayo manuscript, gives rise to a number of possibilities. First, that the composers of BMP 9 were working from the archetype for BMP 8 and 9 (which Beresford terms *Z*), which would already have added Mamés and changed Julian's feast day. This theory would suppose that *Z* had no other irregularities of ordering. Second, that the composers of FLG 419 had access to BMP 9, and did not agree with the omission of Vincent, and therefore incorporated him from another source, and that this was part of their work of correcting the order and modernising the legends.<sup>23</sup> Third and most likely, that the composers of FLG 419 had access to a copy descended from the same archetype as BMP 9 that did include Vincent, who was omitted from BMP 9 by design or accident.

The second half of FLG 419 garners its material from different sources. As the first 83 readings take one turn through the liturgical-sanctoral cycle, the subsequent readings mark a second sequence, filling in some of the gaps. It interpolates the 'enxemplo de un obispo que bivía deleitosamente' as its eighty-fourth reading, before proceeding in the same

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<sup>23</sup> A comparison of the FLG 419's reading for Vincent and that given in the *Legenda aurea* may help form a more solid theory of the relationship between them, and of the manuscript's sources.

order as Voragine through the remainder. The exceptions to this are the inversion of Euphemia and Lambert mentioned above, the interpolation of Ildephonsus between Peter Martyr (63) and Vitus and Modestus (82), the addition of three Latin lives between fols 209<sup>va</sup> and 212<sup>rb</sup>, and the interpolation of Barbara, attested also in Escorial K-II-12 and Escorial h-I-14. There is no overlap at all with the first 83 readings of FLG 419.

All of the hagiographic readings (except Ildephonsus) are attested by Escorial h-I-14 in the same order, and by Escorial K-II-12, before its premature end, although FLG 419 restores Chrysanthus and Daria (157) to its original place, and places Barbara between Saturninus, Perpetua, Felicity and their Companions (173) and James the Dismembered (174). In both Escorial K-II-12 and Escorial h-I-14 Barbara is placed before Nicholas (4). The closer textual and stylistic affinity between the second half of Escorial FLG 419 and Escorial K-II-12 make it likely that the relationship between them is closer than that with Escorial h-I-14.

The changes wrought on the text of the Menéndez Pelayo manuscripts, or similar descendants, in order to form FLG 419 (1-83) can be seen in various features of morphology, lexis, interpolation, and syntax. The legends of Sebastian and George provide examples of these strategies at work.

The most obvious morphological change is the systematic replacement of the archaic imperfect tense, ending in *-iē*, with the modern form ending in *-ía*. Penny (1991: 167-69) outlines the relationship between these two tenses, and notes that the fifteenth-century saw a preference for the latter, and the decline of the archaic imperfect. The fact that BMP 9 consistently employs the archaic tense further backs Beresford's argument that it and BMP 8 may be copies of fourteenth-century originals. In the legend of Sebastian, there are sixteen examples of FLG 419 replacing archaic forms found in BMP 9 with modern ones, and fifteen in George, as well as an archaic conditional, 'venceriē' (fol. 59<sup>rb</sup>).

Other alterations concerning verb forms occur, but most commonly they represent differences of expression, such as the preference for a gerund over a conjugated verb, or vice versa, and follow no particular pattern. However, an archaic future subjunctive, 'visquieremos', is given in the

reading for Sebastian in BMP 9 (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>), and replaced by the present subjunctive 'bivamos' in FLG 419 (fol. 19<sup>rb</sup>). Although the future subjunctive, unlike the archaic imperfect, was only to decline in the nineteenth century (Penny 1991: 178-79), it is clear that the scribe of the later manuscript has taken a decision to eliminate such complex, Latinate tenses.

Lexis also follows a pattern of modernisation. Some differences in orthography can be explained by unfamiliarity, especially with proper nouns, or errors in spelling.<sup>24</sup> Others are examples of clarification, such as 'la qual' for 'que', 'para' or 'por' inserted or replacing 'a' (seven times). There are also changes of emphasis, such as 'aquestas' for 'estas' (BMP 9 fol. 11<sup>r</sup>, FLG 419 fol. 18<sup>va</sup>), although this last example is contradicted by 'los' replacing BMP 9's 'aquéllos' in the final paragraph of George (BMP 9 fol. 59<sup>va</sup>, FLG 419 fol. 47<sup>ra</sup>). However, others are examples of synonyms that have replaced older forms. The word 'demientre' in BMP 9 is systematically replaced by 'en tanto' in FLG 419 at each of its seven appearances in the text, and 'ý' is replaced with 'ende' three times. Other archaic forms are also replaced: 'traxiesse' for 'aduxiese', 'piensas' for 'asmas', 'gastaran' for 'espendieran', 'póngate' for 'métate', 'parescía' for 'semejava', and 'consentaría' for 'sufriría'.<sup>25</sup> Lastly, 'dios' where the plural is replaced with the modern plural 'dioses', except on one occasion where 'dioses' is found in both BMP 9 (fol. 59<sup>rb</sup>) and FLG 419 (fol. 46<sup>va</sup>).<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> An example from the legend of Sebastian is 'Millán' in BMP 9 (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>), given as 'Villán' in FLG 419 (18<sup>ra</sup>). At one point, possibly due to a failure to read the name 'Zoe' in the source text, FLG 419 reworks BMP 9's 'Zoe, la dicha, teniéndola los gentiles' as 'e teniendo los gentiles a la muger sobredicha' (fol. 19<sup>rb</sup>), thus evading having to guess at an unfamiliar name.

<sup>25</sup> 'Traxiese': FLG 419, fol. 19<sup>vb</sup>. 'Aduxiese': BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>. 'Piensas': FLG 419 fol. 47<sup>ra</sup>. 'Asmas': BMP 9, fol. 59<sup>va</sup>. 'Gastaran': FLG 419, fol. 19<sup>ra</sup>. 'Espendieran': BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>. 'Póngate': FLG 419, fol. 19<sup>rb</sup>. 'Métate': BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>. 'Parescía': FLG 419, fol. 19<sup>va</sup>. 'Semejava': BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>. 'Consentaría': FLG 419, fol. 19<sup>ra</sup>. 'Sufriría': BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> The debate about whether it was grammatically possible to pluralise the word 'god' in a monotheistic society was underway in the early fifteenth century, but had largely subsided



Syntactical changes implemented in FLG 419 occur at several points. The most common changes are the rearrangement of phrases from object-verb to verb-object.<sup>27</sup> Altering the position of the adjective or adverb is also common, particularly placing it after the noun or verb.<sup>28</sup> Finally, the inversion of ‘Sebastián e Policarpio’ (fol. 19<sup>ra</sup>), given as ‘Policarpo e Savastián’ in all other Compilation B readings (fol. 11<sup>v</sup> in BMP 9, for example) and in Latin, may be an example of erroneous sampling, but also adds to the evidence that FLG 419 is later than the other recensions, and is not the direct source for any later medieval manuscript versions of the legend.

Minor interpolations clarify some phrases where BMP 9 gives slightly ambiguous readings. These include extra conjunctions, such as ‘e’, ‘luego’, and ‘e asý’ to lend a sense of progression to the narrative. To clarify that the father of Marcellian and Marcus is speaking in the legend of Sebastian, the scribe inserts ‘estas’ in the phrase ‘dando estas bozes *contra* el cielo’ (fol. 18<sup>rb</sup>). Clarification on a larger scale sees the scribe of FLG 419 reworking a muddled sentence fully into direct speech (fol. 19<sup>rb-va</sup>). Examples from George include the repetition that the temple was annihilated, where FLG

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in favour of the grammarians by the time FLG 419 was composed. The manuscripts examined here give an interesting witness to this problem, with a higher frequency of ‘los dios’ in BMP 9, and none in FLG 419, while other scribes use both forms. See Gómez Redondo (1996) for a brief summary.

<sup>27</sup> Examples from Sebastian: ‘descabeçar los mis hijos’ (FLG 419, fol. 18<sup>rb</sup>) for ‘míos hijos descabeçar’ (BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>), and ‘fian en ella’ (fol. 18<sup>va</sup>) for ‘della fian’ (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>). Examples from George include ‘aver hijos de ti’ (FLG 419, fol. 45<sup>va</sup>) for ‘de ti aver hijos’ (BMP 9, fol. 58<sup>va</sup>), and ‘meter a Jorge’ (fol. 46<sup>va</sup>) for ‘a George meter’ (fol. 59<sup>ra</sup>).

<sup>28</sup> Examples from Sebastian: ‘Fabiano alcalde’ (fol. 19<sup>rb</sup>) for ‘el alcalde Faviano’ (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>), ‘fue en pocos días sano’ (fol. 19<sup>va</sup>) for ‘fue sano en pocos días’ (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>), ‘sostigar tanto’ (fol. 19<sup>va</sup>) for ‘tanto sostig[...]’ (fol. 12<sup>v</sup>), ‘atormentar muy fuertemente ante todos’ (fol. 19<sup>vb</sup>) for ‘atormentar ante todos muy fuertemente’ (fol. 12<sup>v</sup>). Examples from George include ‘los enfermos todos’ (fol. 46<sup>ra</sup>) for ‘todos los enfermos’ (fol. 58<sup>vb</sup>), and ‘el juez descabeçar luego’ (fol. 46<sup>va</sup>) for ‘luego el juez descabeçar’ (fol. 59<sup>ra</sup>).

419 states that ‘nada del templo’ was left (fol. 46<sup>vb</sup>), substituting the noun for the pronoun ‘dél’ given in BMP 9 (fol. 59<sup>tb</sup>).

There are also more complex reworkings and interpolations. For example, to emphasise the fact that Marcellian and Marcus are twins, FLG 419 gives the phrase ‘amos hermanos nascidos de un vientre’ (fol. 18<sup>ra</sup>). The word ‘nascidos’ is not in any other recension, or in Voragine. Similarly, in the description of the wheel that is devised for George, FLG 419 adds the phrase ‘de navajas e’ to the already sharp knives mentioned by all other texts (fol. 46<sup>va</sup>). The tautologous nature of this detail adds a sense of the gruesome that further enlivens the narrative.

On occasion, the preoccupation for clarity causes FLG 419 to approximate the sense of the Latin more than any other manuscript. This is true of the episode in Sebastian’s legend where Tiburtius explains his opposition to the destruction of his father’s idols:

Non lo sufriría *que* tan preciosa  
obra como ésta se destruyese,  
enpero *que* quiero la salut de mi  
padre [...] (BMP 9, fol 11<sup>v</sup>)

Non consentiría *que* tan preciosa  
obra como ésta se destruya.  
Enpero por que tú *non* entien-  
das que yo *non* quiero la salud  
de mi padre [...] (FLG 419, fol.  
19<sup>ra</sup>, my emphasis)

The conjunction ‘que’ in BMP 9 expresses the tension between Tiburtius’ reluctance to damage the family wealth, and his concern for his father’s health, making the sense difficult to grasp. However, FLG 419 expands the reading in a manner unique among the manuscripts of the Compilation, and gives a much more faithful translation of the Latin.<sup>29</sup> In attempting to elucidate meaning, FLG 419 often approaches the original source text by updating it.

At some points, FLG 419 diverges quite widely from BMP 9. In some places, the text is expanded more than would be justifiable for mere emphasis. For example, in the legend of Sebastian, the wives’ rebuke of ‘¡qué

<sup>29</sup> ‘Non patiar opus destrui tam praeclarum, sed ne paternae sanitati videar esse contrarius [...]’ is the equivalent Latin phrase (*De sancto Sebastiano*, l.103-04).

cruelles sodes!’ (BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>) becomes ‘¡qué crueldat, e *qué* cruelles sodes!’ (FLG 419, fol. 18<sup>tb</sup>).<sup>30</sup> This is a unique expansion for the Compilation. Even where BMP 9 and FLG 419 together contain details not transmitted by other manuscripts, occasionally the latter provides specific pieces of information. For instance, these two are the only manuscripts to supply a precise destination for the money offered to George by the king in recompense for slaying the dragon. BMP 9 reads that it was intended ‘*para sí*’ (fol. 58<sup>vb</sup>), but FLG 419 gives ‘*para su thesoro*’ (fol. 46<sup>ra</sup>), expanding on the impression that George is wealthy.<sup>31</sup>

Such details as these form part of the evidence that BMP 9 was not the sole source of FLG 419. Omissions further support this hypothesis. For example, in the legend of George, FLG 419 gives simply ‘*llorava*’ to describe the princess, but BMP 9 states: ‘*llorava la donzella e todos los que avién ydo con ella*’ (fol. 58<sup>rb</sup>). Similarly, the phrase ‘*e quantas vegadas firié en alguna cosa, tantos omnes matava*’ (fol. 12<sup>v</sup>) in BMP 9 is absent from FLG 419 in the miracle of Sebastian’s posthumous protection against the plague. As the sentence does not make sense without it, it is mostly likely to be an error on the part of the scribe, jumping from one instance of the word ‘*matava*’ to the next.

One final change may be crucial to an understanding of the relationship between BMP 9 and FLG 419. It concerns the number of Chromatius’ household baptised in the legend of Sebastian, which is given in BMP 9, Escorial K-II-12, and Escorial h-I-14 as 1,300, but 1,400 in FLG 419 and the Latin source.<sup>32</sup> This may indicate that the scribe of FLG 419 did not have access to BMP 9, but was working from a source that had preserved the figure as 1,400 in alignment with Voragine’s text. Otherwise, it may indicate that the scribe of FLG 419 had a vernacular source, but also

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<sup>30</sup> Voragine gives ‘*Heu quam ferrea pectora*’ (*De sancto Sebastiano*, l.42), showing that the texts of the Compilation give a fairly free translation at this point.

<sup>31</sup> The Latin gives ‘*quam ille recipere nolens*’ (l. 88), which is closer to BMP 9’s rendering.

<sup>32</sup> See FLG 419, fol. 19<sup>tb</sup>; Appendix 3, l.110; BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>; Escorial K-II-12, fol. 39<sup>tb</sup>; and Escorial h-I-14, fol. 45<sup>ra</sup>.

had access to another (possibly Latin) source with which it clarified ambiguities and corrected errors, or an oral memory of the higher figure.

From these examples, it is clear that the first part of FLG 419 is descended from the same textual tradition as BMP 9, and that the decision to present them together in a critical edition is justified by the proximity of the two texts. However, it is equally clear that, although FLG 419 was composed with an apparent aim to approach the compilation in an intelligent and critical manner, its variants from BMP 9 cannot wholly be explained by the hypothesis that the composer changed what he saw as errors, or added parts that happened to coincide with sections testified in other manuscripts in the Compilation. It is likely that the scribe had access to a similar manuscript in the tradition of BMP 9, from which he took the material. His most significant alterations were to update archaic language and to clarify ambiguities, but some characteristics visible in other manuscripts, not descended from Z, are also present, making this a more complicated text than first assumed. However, this is difficult to prove.

Despite BMP 9's greater age and older linguistic and textual elements, the rigorous text and undamaged condition of FLG 419 have led me to take my cue from Vega's work (1991) and that of Beresford (forthcoming). As a result, I provide critical editions based on FLG 419, rather than the older manuscript (*Sant Jorge mártir* and *Sant Sebastián mártir*). Although this is chronologically unsatisfactory, it is the most adequate way of presenting a readable and coherent edition. An edition based on BMP 9 would be at best fragmentary, and at worst would fail to deliver a clear impression of either manuscript. The modernising bent of FLG 419 gives the impression of a later text, but simultaneously provides a sensible point of departure that is not so remote from BMP 9 as to make a critical edition nonsensical.

## Escorial K-II-12

Escorial K-II-12 also contains recensions of the legends of George and Sebastian, but it is an example of a more distant textual tradition.<sup>33</sup> Relatively little is known about it. Zarco Cuevas (1924: II, 164) dated it by the hand alone, which he gives as fifteenth-century. Without disputing this production date, Beresford (forthcoming) argues that language and orthography point to an earlier original, and tentatively suggests 1425-50 as a date for production. This text is of a poorer linguistic quality than any other, with numerous grammatical, syntactical and lexical errors, sometimes at the cost of the meaning of a sentence. Published editions of readings from the manuscript include Agnes (Beresford 2007a: 85-92), Alexis (Vega 1991: 87-96), Christopher (Buxton 2006: 103-07), Dominic of Guzmán (Menéndez Pidal 1966, II: 505-06; also Barbadillo de la Fuente 1985), Mary of Egypt (Thompson & Walsh 1977: 35-38), and Toribius (Walsh & Thompson 1987).

The manuscript is written in a clear, heavy gothic hand, although somewhat less elegant than that of Escorial h-I-14. There are large words in rubrics, such as the undecorated ‘Sant Iorge’ (fol. 73<sup>v</sup>). Some difficulties arise due to ink bleeding through to the reverse of the folio, and blotchy patches (such as fols 73<sup>vb</sup> and 75<sup>v</sup>), but it is generally easily legible. Errors usually go uncorrected, even where meaning is sacrificed, which would suggest either the laziness of the scribe, or his unfamiliarity with the text or the language. However, there are examples of mistakes corrected with a line through the original text, such as at fol. 73<sup>v</sup>, where ‘todos’ is crossed out for ‘muchos’. Fol. 38<sup>v</sup> gives three separate crossings-out, and 39<sup>v</sup> has the word ‘sant’ inserted in the inner margin between ‘e díxol’ and ‘Sebastián’. There is an erroneous repeated ‘a’ between folios 73 and 74, which could suggest the copying of folios out of turn, but is more likely to be due to a lapse of

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<sup>33</sup> Escorial K-II-12 is incorporated into *Sant Jorge mártir* and *Sant Sebastián mártir* as a variant (Appendix 1). However, in order to give the reader a clearer picture of the manuscript, I cite here by folio reference.

concentration. There is also a redundant paragraph break and an extra 'e' at the turn of folios 74 to 75.<sup>34</sup>

Beresford's hypothetical stemma suggests that Escorial K-II-12 has a different immediate source from BMP 9 and the first half of FLG 419 (readings 1-83): an intermediate lost manuscript which he calls *Y*. In descending from *B* to *Y*, the legend of Barbara is preserved, as is the inversion of Euphemia (139) and Lambert (133). The only other structural changes affecting all three Escorial manuscripts but not FLG 419 (readings 85-end) concern the legends of Antoninus and Brigit. Neither appears in FLG 419, but they are both in Escorial K-II-12, Antoninus is in Escorial h-I-14, and Brigit appears in Escorial M-II-6.<sup>35</sup> The repeated presence of these legends would suggest a line of common descent. An intermediary manuscript between *B* and *Y* may have existed, which added Barbara and inverted the legends of Lambert and Euphemia. From this lost manuscript is descended the second half of FLG 419, which added three Latin readings, the tale of the bishop of Magdeburg, the legend of Ildephonsus, and inverted the legend of Adrian and his Companions (134) and Gorgonius and Dorotheus (135). However, in descending to *Y*, the legends of Antoninus and Brigit are added.

In transmission from *Y* to Escorial K-II-12, several legends are added: Leocadia, Toribius, and Anthony of Padua. The interpolations of these last two, Brigit, and Antoninus (mentioned above) all appear in correct liturgical order. The legends of Chrysanthus and Daria (157) and the Holy Innocents (10) are repositioned, and various alterations affect particularly the early part of the manuscript. For example, Sylvester (12) and Anastasia (7) are inverted. The same occurs with Cornelius and Cyprian (132) and the

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<sup>34</sup> Descriptions of the manuscript can be found at Zarco Cuevas (II, 164-65), Thompson and Walsh (1986-87: 22), Baños Vallejo and Uría Maqua (2000: 63), Hernández Amez (2008: 194-94) and Beresford (forthcoming).

<sup>35</sup> Escorial M-II-6's premature ending would explain the absence of the legend of Antoninus. The presence of the legend of Brigit in the compilation is less easily explained.

Exaltation of the Holy Cross (137), an inversion caused by the restoration of these two feasts to their traditional positions, and witnessed also in BMP 9, FLG 419 and Escorial h-I-14. Escorial K-II-12 ends prematurely, with the shortened legend of Matthew (140). The loss of the final sections of the text and the numerous changes and interpolations not attested by any other manuscript make it very unlikely that FLG 419 (readings 85-end) was taken directly from Escorial K-II-12.

Of the manuscripts of Compilation B, Escorial K-II-12 evidences the highest proportion of readings not found in Voragine. However, in some cases it also provides the closest translation of the Latin, if the erroneous readings are momentarily ignored. This would suggest a dual approach; the composer of Escorial K-II-12 or its close ancestors wished to produce a text that was a faithful vernacular representation of Voragine's original, but he also wanted to widen the scope to include more local saints. The only legends omitted from this manuscript are those lost probably by accident after the account of Matthew (140). This incremental approach to composition seems to be prioritised over the application of a critical eye and the reduction of those sections considered least interesting or believable. Of all of the manuscripts in Compilation B, the composer of Escorial K-II-12 shows least evidence of intellectual rigour. He leaves nonsensical phrases and clear misreadings in place. As a result, the text is unreliable.

In terms of edition, the most satisfactory solution is to list its variants in a critical edition. The alternative is to edit it synoptically, but the number of emendations necessary to produce a meaningful text means that the reader no longer has a true picture of the manuscript. Consequently, the question arises as to which side of the stemma it fits; naturally, incorporation into an edition with a reading from the second half of FLG 419 would be the most appropriate solution, given their textual proximity. However, as the legends of George and Sebastian are found amongst the first 83 readings of FLG 419, this is not possible. Given the general fidelity of Escorial K-II-12 to the Latin source, I have incorporated it into the edition of manuscripts descended from Z, BMP 9 and FLG 419. This is because Escorial h-I-14 and Escorial M-II-6 are products of a greater

process of reworking. Despite the three Escorial manuscripts being descended from the same part of the stemma, there is more textual variation between them than between Escorial K-II-12 and the manuscripts of Z.

The high frequency of erroneous readings is one of the most salient features of Escorial K-II-12. These have not transferred to any other manuscript, so it may be presumed that it is not the direct ancestor of any extant text. For example, the magical prophetic chamber featured in the legend of Sebastian is the place for Chromatius' father to tell the future: 'en esta cámara dizié lo *que* avié de venir' (BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>). Escorial K-II-12 swaps the word 'cámara' for 'manera', which makes grammatical sense but does not reflect the meaning of the source.

This error could have been caused by misreading, and such sloppiness is widely evidenced by similar mistakes or omissions of whole phrases, often causing nonsensical passages. For example, the scene in Sebastian in which the mother reproaches Marcellian and Marcus is rendered in BMP 9 as: 'e veno la madre rascada e mesada, e mostrándoles los pechos' (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>). The omission of 'e mostrándoles' in Escorial K-II-12 (fol. 37<sup>vb</sup>), distorts the meaning to imply that the mother's chest is in disarray. A similar error in sampling is garbled at the point where Zoë's martyrdom inspires Tranquillinus:

Zoe la dicha, *teniéndola* los  
gentiles e atormentándola,  
muriós, e fuésse a parraýso. E  
oyéndolo Tranquilino, dixo:  
'¡Las mugeres se *van* ante nos  
*para* paráýso! E nos, ¿para *qué*  
bevimos?' (BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>)

E la dicha Sohe, *teniéndola* los  
gentiles, *que* la atormentavan,  
finóse e fuésse *para* paráýsso. 'E  
nos, ¿para *qué* vevimos?'  
(Escorial K-II-12, fol. 39<sup>rb</sup>)

It is very likely that the scribe of Escorial K-II-12 saw the double instance of the word 'paráýso' in the source, and a case of eyeskip caused the omission of the intervening sentence.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> The orthography of the name 'Zoe' as 'Sohe' may indicate oral dictation rather than copying from a written text, but there is little other evidence to support this theory.



The legend of George fares little better. Several details describing the scene with the dragon are not present, particularly the image of the princess leading it towards the town by her sash:

<p><u>E començóse de yr tirando por la carrera</u>, e el dragón siguiéndola como can manso. (BMP 9, fol. 58<sup>vb</sup>, my emphasis)</p>	<p>E el dragón siguióla como can muy manso. (Escorial K-II-12, fol. 74<sup>rb</sup>)</p>
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The emotional realism and sense of connection between George's actions and the dragon's new, tractable nature, which is created by BMP 9 and FLG 419 at this point in the narrative is not matched by Escorial K-II-12. The consequence is that the dragon is presented as a less powerful image. This is corroborated by the omission of the fact that George's peace is made as a reminder of his triumph over the monster, which reduces his departure from the city to a normal farewell rather than a lasting legacy.<sup>37</sup> Later, the entire second sequence of the poisoned cup being offered to George is missing from the same folio. These readings demonstrate the inadequacy of Escorial K-II-12 when considering the text on which to base a critical edition, despite its other valuable characteristics, such as age or lexical and syntactic proximity to the Latin.

In arguing that Escorial K-II-12 is from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and therefore chronologically between BMP 9 and FLG 419, Beresford gives archaic language as his main evidence. The morphology of the manuscript corresponds to this hypothesis. Where BMP 9 evidenced almost entirely archaic forms of the imperfect, and FLG 419 entirely modern forms, Escorial K-II-12 shows a combination of both, even in neighbouring lines. For example, fol. 40<sup>rb</sup> gives the following phrase: 'un venablo *con que* feríe e matava. E *quantas* vegadas fería...' The future subjunctive discussed above, given as 'visquieremos' in BMP 9 and changed

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<sup>37</sup> The relevant passage in BMP 9 is: 'E así les dio paz de la tribulación que avién del dragón, e después partióse dende' (fol. 58<sup>vb</sup>). My emphasis marks the phrase omitted from Escorial K-II-12.

to the present subjunctive 'bivamos' in FLG 419, is also closer to the older form: 'visqzieres', a future subjunctive with the altered subject. Unlike FLG 419, the author of Escorial K-II-12 does not appear to have an agenda of modernisation or conservatism. The inconsistencies in grammatical forms suggest that he had no preference, and therefore had a less homogeneous approach to textual transmission than the scribes of other manuscripts, such as FLG 419.

Lexis, on the other hand, points more strongly towards the theory that Escorial K-II-12 was copied from an earlier original. It retains many of the archaic forms given also in BMP 9 ('asmas', 'espendieran', 'librar', 'métate', 'semejava', 'sufriría'), and replaces only 'aduxiese'.<sup>38</sup> For the infinitive 'encantar' or 'conjurar', it gives 'demandar', 'a osadas' or 'muy osadamente' is omitted entirely (fol. 39<sup>va</sup>), and 'oré' or 'rogué' is misread and given as 'onrré'.<sup>39</sup> Like BMP 9 it retains the form of 'demientra' rather than the 'en tanto' of FLG 419, and prefers 'ý' to 'ende'. The word 'palabras' is kept, rather than FLG 419 'verbos' (fol. 39<sup>ra</sup>), and the modern plural of 'dioses' is consistently rejected for the form 'dios'.

Some lexical readings also contradict passages where BMP 9 and FLG 419 concur, as one would expect from a manuscript descended from a different part of the stemma. For example, 'acomeñdades' is given for 'dexades', an acceptable alternative for the Latin 'dimittitis' (fol. 38<sup>tb</sup>).

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<sup>38</sup> 'Asmas': BMP 9, fol. 59<sup>va</sup> and Escorial K-II-12, fol. 75<sup>va</sup>. FLG 419 reads 'piensas' (fol. 47<sup>ra</sup>). 'Espendieran': BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup> and Escorial K-II-12, fol. 39<sup>tb</sup> ('espendieron'). FLG 419 reads 'gastaran' (fol. 19<sup>ra</sup>). 'Librar': BMP 9, fol. 58<sup>va</sup> and Escorial K-II-12, fol. 74<sup>ra</sup>. FLG 419 reads 'salvar' (fol. 45<sup>vb</sup>), although it also contains the word 'librar' in the previous column. 'Métate': BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup> and Escorial K-II-12, fol. 39<sup>va</sup>. FLG 419 reads 'póngate' (fol. 19<sup>tb</sup>). 'Semejava': BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup> and Escorial K-II-12, fol. 39<sup>vb</sup>. FLG 419 reads 'parescía' (fol. 19<sup>va</sup>). 'Sufriría': BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup> and Escorial K-II-12, fol. 39<sup>tb</sup>. FLG 419 reads 'consentaría' (fol. 19<sup>ra</sup>). 'Aduxiese': BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>. FLG 419 (fol. 18<sup>vb</sup>) and Escorial K-II-12 (fol. 39<sup>ra</sup>) read 'traxiese'.

<sup>39</sup> 'Demandar': Escorial K-II-12, fol. 40<sup>ra</sup>. FLG 419 gives 'conjurar' (fol. 19<sup>vb</sup>) and BMP 9 reads 'encantar' (fol. 12<sup>v</sup>). 'Onrré': Escorial K-II-12, fol. 39<sup>vb</sup>. FLG 419 gives 'rogué' (fol. 19<sup>va</sup>) and BMP 9 reads 'oré' (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>).

'Ydolos' is given for 'dios' (fol. 39<sup>ra</sup>), making clear that the Latin 'Deos' is referring to false gods.

The legend of George sees further differences. The 'villa' of BMP 9 and FLG 419 is repeatedly replaced by 'cibdat' (closer to the Latin form 'civitatem', *De sancto Georgio*, l.25). 'Dones' replaces 'dineros' and 'el servicio' 'los oficios' (fol. 74<sup>va</sup>), which diverge from the Latin ('pecuniam' and 'officium', *De sancto Georgio*, l.87 and 90 respectively). Overall, the high number of synonyms are evidence that both Z and Y were probably reworked from the archetype of Compilation B, as well as confirming the close relationship between BMP 9 and FLG 419, which together often oppose readings from Escorial K-II-12. The slightly closer textual relationship between Escorial K-II-12 and the Latin would suggest that Z was subject to a greater degree of lexical reworking than Y, thus lending the manuscript some degree of textual precedence over BMP 9 and FLG 419, marred by its frequent erroneous readings.

The number of differences in syntax between the three manuscripts is high, and seems to have no deliberate strategy behind it. Both the version of the legends as presented by BMP 9 and FLG 419 and that by Escorial K-II-12 are suitable reworkings of the Latin, although as mentioned above, the latter is sometimes erroneous and omissions or mistakes often lead to stilted sentence structure. However, of interest is one detail where adjectives are inverted, testified elsewhere in the cohort of manuscripts. The description of the twins' mother as 'rascada e messada' (BMP 9, fol. 11<sup>r</sup>; FLG 419, fol. 18<sup>ra</sup>) is inverted to 'mesada e rascada' not only in Escorial K-II-12 (fol. 37<sup>vb</sup>), but also in Escorial h-I-14 (fol. 43<sup>va</sup>). This crucial detail confirms the alignment of these two manuscripts on one side of the stemma, and BMP 9 and FLG 419 on another.

Some points of interpolation differentiate Escorial K-II-12 from BMP 9 and FLG 419. The legend of George portrays the saint promising to help the princess with the sign of the cross and in the name of Christ (fol. 74<sup>ra</sup>). The mention of the cross is absent from every other testimony. Later, George's public profession of faith of Christ's creative power is expanded from 'los cielos' (all other manuscripts and Latin) to 'el cielo e la tierra e el

mar e todas las cosas *que* en ellos son' (fol. 74<sup>va</sup>). Here, the manuscript adds a more complete vision of creation, linking the seat of the divine in heaven, the stage for martyrdom, and even the water from which arose the dragon at the beginning of the narrative. These interpolations concern demonstrations of faith, and suggest that this was an aspect of the text that the composer sought to emphasise. In the legend of Sebastian, the saint's words demonstrate a further example, where an extra layer of illusion is highlighted in Escorial K-II-12. BMP 9 gives '*Que* demientre *que* prende es preso, e demientre *que* tiene es vencido', and so on (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>). However, Escorial K-II-12 changes '*prende*' to '*piensa que* prende' and '*tiene*' to '*cuyda que* tiene', and so on (fol. 38<sup>vb</sup>). Although not attested elsewhere, this reading further emphasises the gulf between appearance and reality. All of these interpolations are creative, and enhance meaning rather than distort it.

Other sections transmit passages lost from BMP 9 and FLG 419. For instance, the removal of the dead dragon is described as follows: '*e aduxieron quatro yugos de bueys e echáronlo en un grant canpo fuera de la cibdat*' (Escorial K-II-12, fol. 74<sup>rb</sup>). The other two Escorial manuscripts corroborate this reading.<sup>40</sup> However, BMP 9 and FLG 419 have clearly suffered an error in transmission as they mention only the field to which it is taken, and not the action itself (fols 58<sup>vb</sup> and 46<sup>ra</sup> respectively). Yet other sections highlight the proximity of Escorial K-II-12 to the manuscripts descended from X. The legend of Sebastian transmits the name of the region of Tuscany (Latin '*in Tuscia*', *De sancto Sebastiano*, l.154) as '*Toscana*' in manuscripts descended from Z. However, both Escorial K-II-12 and Escorial h-I-14 give '*Costava*' as the place name. Where the latter leaves this probable error of transcription without comment, the composer of Escorial K-II-12 attempts to explain: '*en Costava, un logar que asý era llamado*' (fol. 40<sup>ra</sup>). The error is transmitted to both Escorial manuscripts containing the legend of Sebastian, but the scribe of Escorial K-II-12 interpolates an explanation in recognition of the fault.

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<sup>40</sup> The relevant passage appears in Escorial h-I-14, fol. 93<sup>rb</sup> and Escorial M-II-6, fol. 42<sup>v</sup>.

A number of differences in expression and style separate Escorial K-II-12 from its Compilation B counterparts. While clearly providing a link between the other Escorial manuscripts and those descended from Z, the process of reworking between each strand has occurred at all stages of transmission. As a result, Escorial K-II-12 does not fit easily into a critical edition, but its high number of nonsensical readings makes it an unsuitable candidate for synoptic edition. Editing it with BMP 9 and FLG 419 provides a noteworthy set of variants; this is probably the least unsatisfactory way of presenting Escorial K-II-12.

### Escorial h-I-14

Escorial h-I-14 is the only manuscript to contain testimonies for all three legends discussed here.<sup>41</sup> It is dated to 1427 by an inscription, and is the most comprehensive manuscript in Compilation B. The gothic hand is clear and spacious, and despite the absence of illumination, it is a manuscript of some quality, and in good condition. The text itself is engaging and stylish, with only occasional erroneous readings, and represents the furthest move from the Latin source. On occasions the folios do not correspond perfectly, leaving some words unwritten. For example, there is a catchword at the bottom of fol. 94<sup>r</sup> with a double border, which is not repeated in the main text. This may indicate the completion of folios out of order, and is a phenomenon present also in Escorial M-II-6.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Escorial h-I-14 is edited as *La vida de Sant George (h)*, *La vida de Sant Savastían*, and *La vida de Sant Eustachio*, to be found at Appendix 1. As these editions are synoptic, I cite by line number rather than folio reference.

<sup>42</sup> Descriptions of the manuscript can be found in Zarco Cuevas (1924-29: I, 189-90), Baños Vallejo & Uría Maqua (2000: 63), Beresford (2007a: 63-90, 2007b: 34-39, forthcoming), and Hernández Amez (2008: 169-71). Published editions of readings from Escorial h-I-14 include Patrick (Mulertt 1926), Mary of Egypt (Thompson and Walsh 1977: 41-43), Alexis (Vega 1991: 87-96), Christopher (Buxton 2006: 98-102), Agnes (Beresford 2007b: 85-87), Thaïs (Beresford 2007a: 135-36), and Pelagia (Beresford 2007a: 139-40).

The relationship of Escorial h-I-14 to Compilation B is complex, particularly concerning the nature of its affiliation to Escorial M-II-6. Beresford's stemma suggests that both manuscripts provide reworkings of their ancestor *X*, itself a lost descendant of a lost archetype, *Y*. Where Beresford argues that Escorial M-II-6 is *X* with minor reworking, Escorial h-I-14 represents a 'more interpretative' approach to textual transmission (2007b: 67). The differences in style set Escorial h-I-14 apart from the other manuscripts, and for this reason, and because it is a largely reliable text, it is presented synoptically. Any reworking from *X* is probably due to the scribe's wish to make the material more dramatic and attractive. The interpolations to passages of speech in particular make it an unsatisfactory base text, as it does not represent the expression of the other manuscripts, yet to present it as a series of variants appended to another account loses much of the interest of its style.

There is little to say about the scope and structure of Escorial h-I-14. Every legend in Voragine found in Compilation B is recorded in it, with the exceptions of Anastasia (7), the Circumcision (14), and Epiphany (15). There are also some additional apocryphal legends. Beresford hypothesised that the legend of Barbara was added and those of Euphemia and Lambert were inverted when the archetype for Compilation B was transmitted to create *Y*. His structural evidence that Escorial h-I-14 and Escorial M-II-6 are descended from a further archetype, *X*, is based on the fact that both reposition the legend of Vincent (in the former it is inverted with Basil, but this inversion cannot be attested by Escorial M-II-6, as it omits this legend), and both invert the legends of Catherine (173), and Saturninus, Perpetua, Felicity and their companions (174). The second of these is impossible to deduce from the manuscripts theoretically originating in *Y* (Escorial K-II-12 and the second half of FLG 419) because Escorial K-II-12 ends at Matthew (141), and FLG 419 omits the reading for Catherine. However, Escorial K-II-12 does maintain the original position of the text for Vincent. Further to these features, the legend of Cornelius and Cyprian (133) is repositioned, and that of Pelayo is added. Other than this, it follows Voragine's ordering system.

The three legends studied here (chapters 13, 39, and 138 of the manuscript) are representative samples across the length of Escorial h–I–14. It is not surprising to see variations in orthography and grammatical forms within each legend. However, there appears to be an increased use of archaic imperfects as the reader progresses through the material. The legend of Sebastian contains none, that of George only one, but the legend of Eustace freely uses both modern and archaic forms. If the legends were copied in order, the approach of regularising forms in favour of the modern seems to be discarded by the end of the manuscript.

Points of difference between Escorial h–I–14 and the other manuscripts are common. Syntax is regularly altered; synonyms are commonly added to enhance the lexis; the style is altogether more sophisticated. The easiest points at which to see the difference between the manuscripts are the interpolations attested only by Escorial h–I–14. These are mainly emphatic in the legends of Sebastian and of Eustace, such as the addition of tautologous nouns or adjectives, or the word ‘muy’. However, the legend of George contains significant interpolations that are worth exploring further.

The scribe of Escorial h–I–14 is ambitious in his presentation of the George legend. Where the other four texts average under 2,000 words, this reading is nearly 400 words longer than its nearest rival, and there are a number of significant additions that are unique. Many of these offer an explanation, a repetition, a conjunction, or an extra detail such as an adjective or adverb. More are used to emphasise qualities, such as the thirteen additional and unique instances of the word ‘sant’. With such a range of additions, the focus here is on the larger interpolations.

The most unusual and largest addition not shared by any other manuscript or the Latin is the extra material seen in the king’s two laments for his daughter:

Heu me, filia mea dulcissima,  
quid de te faciam? aut quid  
dicam? quando plus videbo  
nuptias tuas? [...] Heu me, filia

¡Ay, la mi fija, e el mi dulçor, e  
el mi coraçón e bordón de mi  
salut, e consolación de mi casa!  
¿Qué faré agora, o qué diré, *que*

mea dulcissima, de te filios in regali gremio nutrire credebam et nunc vadis, ut a dracone devoreris. Heu me, filia mea dulcissima, sperabam ad tuas nuptias principes invitare, palatium margaritis ornare, tympana et organa audire, et nunc vadis, ut a dracone devoreris. (*De sancto Georgio*, l.42-44 and 51-55)

ante *que* vea la tu boda veré la tu muerte? [...] Ay, la mi fija mucho dulce, ¿qué criazón mala crié en ti tanto tiempo ha, para yo ver agora tales bodas de ti? ¡Ay, llaga del mi cuerpo *que* nunca sanará! Ca, fija, yo cuydava criar los tus fijos, e agora dásme fijos de dolores con los quales nunca se alegre mi alma, e agora liévante al dragón *que* te coma. ¡Ay, la mi fija dulce, yo cuydava conbidar los príncipes a las tus bodas, e fenchir los palacios de paños e de aljófar; e cuydava oír cítolas e vihuelas e todos los otros instrumentos! E agora oyré muchas amarguras e cobriré los mis palacios de mucho duelo, ca veo agora levar la mi fija al dragón *que* la coma. (*La vida de sant George (h)*, l.23-26 and 33-41; my emphasis)

The underlined sections are found in no other testimony. This important embellishment will be discussed at length in Chapter Four.

Another moment of high emotion is rendered in greater detail by this text when the dragon is safely brought into the city:

Populi hoc videntes per montes et colles fugere coeperunt dicentes: vae nobis, quia jam omnes peribimus. (*De sancto Georgio*, l.75-77)

E en este comedio estavan todos los de la cibdat, varones e mugeres, oteando sobre la cerca e en las alturas por ver *quando* saldría el dragón. E *quando* vieron al cavallero estar con la dueña, maravilláronse mucho, ca bien sabían *que* non avía pariente nin amigo *que* allí osase estar. E Sant



Jorge e la infante troxieron el  
 dragón para la villa, e él venía en  
 pos ellos muy mansamente. E los  
 de la cibdat, quando vieron traer el  
 dragón, fuyeron todos de la  
 cibdat, desde el mayor fasta el  
 menor, a los montes, cuydando  
 ser perescidos, diziendo: 'Ay,  
 mezquinos, ¿dó nos meteremos?  
 ¡Ca perescidos somos!' (*La vida de  
 Sant George (b)*, 1.70-79)

The general panic is emphasised, reaffirming the dread of the dragon and the greatness of George's bravery. Tension is effectively built up as the princess, saint, and monster approach the town.

The style is not as clearly expansive in the second half of the legend. However, another type of interpolation is consistent throughout. This concerns forms of address, and it serves to emphasise the narrative and dialogue. In the first place, Escorial h-I-14 adds vocatives to the dialogue. The king calls his townsfolk 'Amigos' (*La vida de Sant George (b)*, 1.17; also used in *La vida de Sant Savastián*, 1.19), George addresses the princess as 'Señora' (1.66), and the queen calls the saint 'Señor' (1.178). Secondly, emphatic phrases are used in dialogue: 'yo te digo' or 'dígote que' (1.53 and 171), 'sepas que', 'sabet que', or 'sabes que' (1.54, 180, 181-82, 80, 173). Finally, the narrative itself provides examples of conversational phrases not present in the source or any other manuscript, such as 'como es dicho' (1.9-10). All of these additions make the dialogue livelier, and may indicate that Compilation B, or at least this manuscript, was designed to be read aloud.

The fact that the reading for Saint Sebastian in Escorial h-I-14 is not expanded to the same degree as that of George may be due to the more conventional and stable history of the narrative. Where the legend of George had undergone radical expansion, abbreviation, and synthesis over the course of its development through censorship and the creation of

popular myths around it, the legend of Sebastian had retained a fairly stable basis of textual content.<sup>43</sup>

Although the dialogue is not as rich as that of George in additional interpolations emphasising the spoken nature of the text, it does give a number of adverbs and adjectives to highlight the dramatic nature of comparisons made. The mother's speech to the twin martyrs adds 'e muy grant dolor' to 'muy grant mezquindat e grant lloro' (*La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.12). Furthermore, the description of Sebastian's ability to convert many people is strengthened by the extra phrase: 'e non tan solamente a éstos, mas aún' (l.76).

Other emphatic additions to Escorial h-I-14 involve specifically Christian vocabulary. For example, the word 'sancti' (*De sancto Sebastiano*, l.68) is rendered as 'los *Christianos sanctos* mártires' (l.60). The phrase 'baptizati sunt' (l.111) is given as 'fueron luego bautizados e tornados *Christianos*' (l. 101-02). 'Sant' is inserted seven times where neither BMP 9 nor FLG 419 add it. However, five of these occasions overlap with the same addition in Escorial K-II-12, further evidence of the common ancestry in the half of the stemma descended from Y.

This type of interpolation is also consistent throughout the legend of Eustace. Emphasis is added by extra instances of the words 'sant' (*La vida de Sant Eustachio*, l.1), 'grant', (l.41), 'mucho' (l.191 and 202-04), 'mesmo' (l.175) and 'muy' (l.215). Psychological ambiguity is also evaluated and sometimes expanded. For example, on the boat Eustace spends some time trying to solve the problem of the predatory shipmaster: 'E viéndolo Eustachio, non lo querié consentir en ninguna manera, refertando muy grant hora sobrello' (l. 76-78), but this stage of reflection is an expansion of the Latin. It appears that the scribe of Escorial h-I-14 is attempting to create a more human figure of the saint, making his emotional anxieties explicit. This fits with the

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<sup>43</sup> In Castilian, for example, see the different textual traditions evidenced by Compilation A and B manuscripts, versus that found in BNM 10252. Long legends of both Sebastian and George are provided in this manuscript, but where that of Sebastian is a greatly expanded version of the one presented here, the legend of George follows a completely different textual tradition. See Buxton (in preparation).

figure of the lamenting king in the legend of George, who was also expanded and portrayed with more pathos.

There are also additions of an explanatory nature. Recognising that Marcellian and Marcus are wavering in their resolution to become martyrs, Escorial h-I-14 adds the phrase, '*que vio que se vencían de los falagos mundanales*' (*La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.40-41), in order to highlight the link between the worldly and the spiritual that Sebastian takes as the thrust of his argument.

The relationship to the divine and its Christian framework is clearly important for the composer of Escorial h-I-14, leading to unique vocabulary that contrasts with the other manuscripts in the group. For example, in the legend of George, the 'ecclesiam' built by the king in thanks for saving the city from the dragon becomes a 'monasterio', and the 'divinum officium' is specified as 'las oras' (*La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.87 and 94). The duty of the king towards 'pauperum' is extended specifically to 'a las biudas e a los huérfanos e a su regno' (l. 95). The scene is subtly recast in an ecclesiastical and monastic setting, rather than the broader Christian one of Voragine's Latin. The emphasis on poverty and adherence to monastic ways of life suggest once again the mendicant orders as a context of production.

This expansion of religious symbolism falls foul of misinterpretation at one point. When George attacks the dragon, he is depicted in the source as arming himself with the cross, '*cruce se muniens*' (*De sancto Georgio*, l.70). Escorial h-I-14 takes a literal approach to the cross, rendering the phrase thus: '*armóse de unas armas que traía, todas pintadas a cruces*' (l. 61-62). Here the cross is not a sign in the name of which he hopes to have success against danger, but a literal and decorative feature of his practical armour. The image alludes to tournaments and the courtly paraphernalia surrounding ritualised combat. It somewhat occludes the direct impressiveness of the saint's trust in divine aid, but replaces it with a colourful and dramatic vision

of his daring.<sup>44</sup>

Although Escorial h-I-14 is characterised by its colourful and effective interpolations, and dramatic and explanatory excursus, it is also unreliable at times. It transmits most of the content of the Latin source, but one example will suffice to show that it is also subject to error. The passage in Sebastian where Chromatius is introduced is rendered thus:

E Tarquiliano, *que* era enfermo, luego *que* fue baptizado, luego fue sano. E el señor de Roma, *que* era otrosý enfermo, rogó a Tarquiliano *quel* traxiese a *quién* le sanara. E viendo él a Policarpo, rogó *quel* sanase. E dixo Sant Sevastián *que* negase *primamente* los ýdolos, *quel* diese poderío de los quebrantar, e *que* luego sería sano. Entonce dixo Tromanço el alcallde *que* los farían sus vasallos. Entonce dixo Sant Savastián: 'Los medrosos *non* quieren quebrantar los sus ýdolos.'  
(Escorial K-II-12, fol. 39<sup>ra</sup>)

E Tarquílino, *que* era muy enfermo, luego fue sano *quando* bautizado fue. E díxole Cromacio el alcallde *que* avía miedo de sus vasallos. (*La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.78-80)

Carelessness, either in the present manuscript or in a source, appears to have been the cause of this omission. It is probable that the double instance of the word 'sano' has caused an error in sampling.

However, Escorial h-I-14, as well as providing the most comprehensive account of Compilation B texts in the family of manuscripts, is also the most ambitious. Clearly produced with an eye for quality, it is generally stylistically accomplished, although it does not entirely avoid misreadings. The fact that it attempts to rework the material into a more

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<sup>44</sup> The military and courtly implications of George's appearance and behaviour will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

dramatic creation makes it one of the most entertaining accounts, but this distance from its archetype consequently means that it is one of the least authoritative texts in terms of textual fidelity to the source. It is possibly the most distant manuscript from the lost archetype for the Compilation, despite its early date. As a consequence, it is edited separately here, both as a safeguard against creating a confused edition that changes either the tone of Escorial h-I-14 or the other manuscripts, and as a celebration of its originality.

### Escorial M-II-6

Escorial M-II-6 contains an account of the legend of Saint George, but not of Sebastian or Eustace.<sup>45</sup> As mentioned above, this manuscript was only tentatively included in Compilation B by Thompson and Walsh, as they were unsure of its exact textual affiliation. Apart from their edition of *Mary of Egypt* (1977), Vega's edition of the legend of Alexis (1991: 87-96), and Beresford's edition of *Agatha* (forthcoming), the text has not been much studied. Like BMP 9, it has suffered damage, and is incomplete.

The manuscript at the point at which George's legend is included is plain, with a single column per page. The rubric, initials and marginal lines are drawn alternately in blue and red ink. The initial 'S' (fol. 41<sup>v</sup>) has a face in the top space, and a tail at the bottom, possibly adding a pictorial representation of George and the dragon to the narrative one following, but there is no formal illumination.

The text of the manuscript is mostly legible, with a reasonably spacious late gothic hand. On occasions the ink has penetrated the reverse side of the paper, making the other side difficult to read, but this does not pose a serious problem. A mistake in the word 'comigo' is crossed out and written again (fol. 42<sup>v</sup>). Turning from this folio to the next, the first word is 'ta',

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<sup>45</sup> Escorial M-II-6 is edited in *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, to be found at Appendix 1. As this edition is synoptic, I cite by line number rather than folio reference.

presumably of 'santa', which may indicate multiple scribes, or completing the manuscript folios out of order.<sup>46</sup>

Escorial M-II-6, like FLG 419, runs through the liturgical-sanctoral cycle twice. First, eighteen legends between the feasts of Julian (30) and James the Apostle (68) are given. This cycle includes the reading for George. The second, longer cycle gives readings from Sylvester (13) to Alexis (95). Unusually, several chapters are subdivided. For example, Escorial M-II-6 presents the reading for Gregory (47) in two sections, giving the legend of John the Deacon as a separate chapter. The second cycle also provides the legend of Brigit in the same liturgical position as it took in Escorial K-II-12, confirming their textual relationship. It also inverts the readings for Basil (27) and Vincent (25), placing the former before Margaret, known as Marina (93). The repositioning of Basil also occurs in Escorial h-I-14. There is a partial duplication of the legend of Julian, but this appears to have occurred according to a design, as the first cycle gives a reading for Julian the Hospitaller, and the second presents the legend of Julian of Le Mans, Julian of Auvergne, and Julian brother of Julius. Appended are two sermons attributed to Vincent Ferrer on the Passion of Christ.

In his stemma, Beresford argued that Escorial M-II-6 is a reworking of a lost manuscript, X, which was in turn reworked from Y, the eventual source of Escorial K-II-12, the second part of FLG 419, and Escorial h-I-14. However, he suggests that the latter and Escorial M-II-6 both originated in an intermediate manuscript, X, and were thus more closely affiliated to each other than any other in the Compilation.

The similarities in readings included and their order, despite the dual cycle contained in Escorial M-II-6, are evidence that it and Escorial h-I-14 have a strong relationship in terms of material. However, the approaches towards this content are very different. It is apparent that some amount of thought went into the structure of Escorial M-II-6. If the first cycle was

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<sup>46</sup> Descriptions of the manuscript can be found in Zarco Cuevas (1924-29: I, 189-90), Baños Vallejo and Uría Maqua (2000: 64), Hernández Amez (2008: 267-69), and Beresford (forthcoming).

completed and then damaged, and the second cycle was composed to correct the omissions, it is a successful work, with no superfluous repetition (apart from Julian, arguably). Nevertheless, where Escorial h-I-14 remodelled its source material to provide a more entertaining text, Escorial M-II-6's reworkings are modest and owe themselves to an attitude of elucidation rather than of drama.

Like Escorial h-I-14, the legend of George contained in Escorial M-II-6 prefers the modern imperfect to the archaic form, and the lexis is very similar. For example, the word used for the dragon's breath is 'bafo' in Escorial h-I-14 (*La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.7) and 'baho' in Escorial M-II-6 (*La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.6), but in BMP 9, FLG 419 and Escorial K-II-12, the words 'soflo' and 'sollo' are used (*Sant Jorge mártir*, l.6). The word 'religioso' describes George's new form of dress (*La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.104; *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.75), not 'Christiano', which is used by Escorial K-II-12, BMP 9, and FLG 419 (*Sant Jorge mártir*, l.86). Similar examples are common throughout the text, in syntax as well as lexis. The main points of difference between Escorial h-I-14 and Escorial M-II-6 are the unique interpolations of the former, discussed in detail above. As the latter is much more concise, and therefore less distant from the other three testimonies, it is probable that the reworkings made from its archetype, X, were on a smaller scale, and that it therefore resembles X more closely than Escorial h-I-14.

Escorial M-II-6 is one of the most concise testimonies. Around twenty phrases or words present in at least one other manuscript are omitted from it; a higher number than any other text. Although most are adjectives, explanatory phrases or conjunctions, some have a significant effect on characterisation. For example, two of the three instances of the word 'iratus' used to describe Dacianus are not translated (*De sancto Georgio*, l.102, 126, 162). Where Voragine emphasised the governor's anger, the composer of Escorial M-II-6 implied his emotional state through his actions.

Other omissions are more serious. The first occurs in the king's lament:

¡Ay, la mi fija, cuydava conbidar príncipes a las tus bodas e fenchir el palacio de aljófar e de piedras preciosas, e de oír alegrías e instrumentos! E agora liévote a echar al dragón. (l. 28-30)

The fact that she will no longer produce an heir, an integral part of this passage in all of the other renderings of the lament, is not mentioned. As the section is structured with the lyrical repetition of short phrases, it is easy to imagine that this loss is due to sampling due to the number of exclamations.

Another instance of omission from Escorial M-II-6 occurs at the beginning of the second half of the narrative, where George denounces the pagan gods:<sup>47</sup>

¡Todos los ydolos de los gentiles  
son diablos e Jhesu Christo fizo  
los cielos! (*La vida de Sant George*  
(*b*), l.105-06)

¡Todos los gentiles son diablos,  
e Jhesu Christo fizo los cielos!  
(*La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.75-  
76)

The crucial concept of idols omitted, the phrase takes on a different sense. Instead of committing blasphemy against the idols, George insults the people around him. This omission implies that the struggle is on a personal level, rather than one in which the human protagonists represent the divine powers whom they worship.

Omissions shared between Escorial h-I-14 and Escorial M-II-6 suggest the textual descent through the stemma. One example concerns the princess' speech when George meets her waiting for the dragon:

Bone miles, sed te  
ipsum salvare festines,  
mecum non pereas!  
sufficit enim, si sola  
peream, nam me  
liberare non posses et  
tu mecum perires. (*De*  
*sancto Georgio*, l.66-67)

Cavallero, vete tu vía,  
non mueras aquí  
comigo. (*La vida de Sant*  
*George (b)*, l.157)

Cavallero, ve tu  
carrera, e non pe-  
rezcas aquí comigo.  
(*La vida de Sant Jorge*  
(*M*), l.43)

The other three manuscripts provide a slightly altered but complete translation of the Latin, but Escorial M-II-6 and Escorial h-I-14 reduce the

<sup>47</sup> Voragine reads: 'Omnes Dii gentium daemonia! dominus autem caelos fecit' (*De sancto Georgio*, l.101-02).



original to a command to leave. This loses the emphasis of the girl's willingness to sacrifice herself, and her abhorrence of an unnecessary and wasteful death. This absence is likely to have been in the source(s) of both manuscripts, particularly as it contradicts the more general approach of Escorial h-I-14, which is usually so expansive at points of dialogue.

Despite its usual tendency towards concision, there are a small number of interpolations unique to Escorial M-II-6. Perhaps the most unusual treatment is to be found in the rubric for the legend, which the manuscript gives as '*la vida de Sant Jorge, el qual era natural de la cibdad de Capadocia*'. Rubrics vary widely from the Latin '*De Sancto Georgio*'. Escorial h-I-14 and Escorial M-II-6 add a reference to the '*vida*', FLG 419 adds '*mártir*', BMP 9 gives the festival date, and Escorial K-II-12 announces the '*título*' of George. Given the variety of summaries of the legend, it appears that the writer of Escorial M-II-6 is keen to locate the saint in his geographical framework.

To return to the stemma, the differences between Escorial h-I-14 and Escorial M-II-6 are too great for them to be combined in a critical edition, as either the flamboyance of the former or the concision of the latter would be lost. However, their proximity should be held in consideration. Combining Escorial M-II-6 with the other three manuscripts would unbalance the text, subsuming it into a form of Z or Y, and suggesting that the scribe of Escorial h-I-14 was a maverick working in a vacuum. By presenting Escorial h-I-14 and Escorial M-II-6 as separate synoptic editions, it should be clear that they resemble one another as much as they differ from the other three manuscripts.

## Conclusions

A close textual reading of the legends of George, Sebastian, and Eustace strengthens Beresford's hypothetical stemma. Codicological and structural evidence, as well as detailed linguistic and textual analysis support the theories that BMP 9 and FLG 419 are closely affiliated on one side of the stemma, and that via various degrees of reworking, the three Escorial manuscripts descend from the other side. Further work, particularly on legends that have readings in all six manuscripts, is needed to refine these theories. It is precisely the constant revision and recreation of these texts

that constitutes both the challenge and the richness of Compilation B. From the reliable and older text of BMP 9, sadly full of lacunae, to the modernised and rigorous readings in FLG 419; from the mixture of fidelity and nonsense in Escorial K-II-12, to the concision of Escorial M-II-6 and the ambitious Escorial h-I-14; the variation of the Compilation defies homogeneous definition.

In practical terms, a critical edition combining all manuscript accounts, which would in the case of George be a base text with four sets of variants, would have too complicated a critical apparatus to be usable, either rendering a bland text or failing to transmit the character of each manuscript. Based on this, I have edited Escorial h-I-14 and Escorial M-II-6 as discrete entities to display their individual approaches. My edition of the remaining three manuscripts would have taken BMP 9 as its base, were it not so damaged. As a consequence, FLG 419, which transmits a very similar text (despite its modernising tendencies), has become a second-choice base. Rather than present Escorial K-II-12 synoptically, due to its unreliability, I have included it as a set of variants with the critical edition. In such a position, it provides a bridging point between the two sides of the stemma.

## Chapter Four

### Saint George: Knight and Martyr

The tension between the chivalric hero and the martyr powers the medieval Castilian legend of Saint George. The figure of the saint crosses two worlds, linking secular with spiritual, and using the language and imagery of the former to articulate the latter. One of the most striking aspects of this tension is the balance between the unique or extraordinary, represented by George, and the communal or intelligible. In this chapter, the consequences of this tension are explored in order to consider its impact on characterisation and narrative, and ultimately, martyrdom.

The chivalric ethos is evident from the very first sentence. Instead of introducing the saint with a moralising etymology, as occurs in the *Legenda aurea*, the Castilian legend characterises George as ‘muy noble infançón’.<sup>1</sup> Coupled with the use of the word ‘sant’, an immediate connection is established between sanctity and social class. In a genre often typified by its conservatism and its basis in the events of a distant past, such a classification is anachronistic, although not uncommon; Saint Sebastian is also called a ‘cavallero’.<sup>2</sup> In this case, the narrative that follows is coloured by the concepts of social duties and characteristics of ‘cavallería’, despite ostensibly dealing with sanctity.

The ‘infançón’ denotes a tier of medieval Castilian society, specifically a mounted warrior of the lower nobility (see Menéndez Pidal 1945, II: 718-20). Cast as a ‘tribunus’ by Jacobus de Voragine (*De sancto Georgio*, l.24), the saint is characterised by governance and high social rank. However, although these connotations remain in the Castilian text, there is also an emphasis on noble birth, rather than a position attained within a ruling body. George,

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<sup>1</sup> *Sant Jorge mártir*, l.1; *La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.1; *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.1. All Castilian texts can be found in Appendix 1; all Latin texts are in Appendix 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.1. *La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.1.

armed and riding a horse, is instantly distinguished from the townsfolk of Silene by the fact that he typifies the 'cavallería', a fault line further reinforced by his sanctity. These military and social strands need to be explored individually before they can be understood as facets of the phenomenon of chivalry.

As mentioned in Chapter One, the heart of the military saint lies in the term *miles Christi*, or soldier of Christ. The words of G. W. Bowersock, discussing the historical shift from urban martyrs to a wider demographic, bear repetition:

To the Diocletianic age, on the eve of the Christian empire, martyrological literature was to assign many more soldier-martyrs, who would bring to reality the traditional metaphor of fighting in the cause of Christ. (1995: 42)

Although a rise in the numbers of those described as soldiers is recorded, it must be remembered that there is little concrete evidence for George (or, for that matter, Sebastian or Eustace) as historical figures. By casting them as military men, the subsequent composers of the narratives take a literal interpretation of the term *miles Christi*, soldier of Christ. The phrase comes from Paul, who uses it to refer to the determination of a soldier in active service, and in so doing explicitly links the concept to suffering and persecution (2 Timothy 2:3-4). As such, it has positive connotations: the soldier bravely endures rather than fights. This makes the phrase applicable to martyrs in general, but in this case it alludes to a physical as well as metaphorical ethos. The literal and symbolic dimensions of the narratives therefore become blurred, as images are used simultaneously to represent their physical selves and the spiritual qualities they imply.

However, even where warlike activity is concerned, a knight is no mere soldier. Military chivalric skills are not limited to fighting battles; they also include a range of other activities, from tournaments to pilgrimages and even crusades, all of which are implicit in the legend of George. The dragon-slaying scene given by *La vida de Sant George (b)* is unique in its representation of the saint as a crusader:

E luego *que* lo vio Sant George, armóse de unas armas *que* traía, todas pintadas a cruces, e subió sobre su cavallo. E aguijó luego *para* el dragón con grant atrevimiento, esgrimiendo muy fuertemente la lança. E acomendóse a Dios e firió *con* la lança al dragón, e dióle un golpe muy fuerte, e luego fue ferido de muerte. (l. 61-65)

Here, George has all of the trappings of tournaments and crusades, including the horse, the lance, and arms covered in crosses. He also commends himself to divine providence before entering the battle, in preparation both against dying unconfessed, and committing acts of violence. The image of the crusader, the holy warrior, combines masculine virile perfection in the shape of physical dominance with spiritual purity. The external manifestations of strength are in harmony with his internal fortitude; his physical and moral capacities mirror one another. Furthermore, the allusion to military orders is clearly intentional. They were known throughout the Iberian Peninsula due to the foundation of orders such as those of Calatrava (Castile), Santiago or Alcántara (both León). The military orders were particularly relevant to contemporary Iberian history, as the Peninsula was the location of the western frontier with Islam (Forey 1992: 23-32).

The development of this section of the legend, and in particular the image of the crusader, is to be expected by the context. As discussed in Chapter Two, the episode of the dragon was a late addition, appearing in western Latin hagiography in the early thirteenth century, possibly brought back from the crusades. At the same time, the cult of George grew in Western Europe. Both Jacobus de Voragine and Compilation A (although not Compilation B) include the posthumous miracle of George's aid at the conquest of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Following a similar trajectory to Santiago

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<sup>3</sup> The miracle is present in Escorial h-III-22, the only manuscript in Compilation A to give the legend of George: 'E en la ystoria de Antiochía se lee que como los *Christianos* fuesen a conquistar la cibdat de Jerusalem e la tierra santa, apareció un mancebo muy fermoso a un clérigo. E díxole que era Sant Jorge, príncipe de los *Christianos*, e que levasen consigo de sus reliquias a Jerusalem, e que él sería con ellos para los ayudar. E como toviesen los *Christianos* cercada la cibdat de Jerusalem, e la defendiesen los moros

Matamoros in Castile and León, George appears to favour the Castilian, Aragonese, and Catalan armies, to the point of aiding them on the battlefield.<sup>4</sup> For this reason, Catalonia venerates George as patron saint to this day. He was adopted as patron of the cavalry by Pere I of Aragón in 1095 after their success in the battle of Alcoraz against the Moors, in which George appeared to fight alongside the Aragonese. This patronage was gradually extended to all nobility. By the fifteenth century, his cult was popular throughout Catalonia, and with the rise of Catalan nationalism in the nineteenth century, George became an icon of Catalan identity, depicted in art, poetry, and architecture, and evoked in political rhetoric.<sup>5</sup>

However, this allusion to the crusader is not the only description to borrow from military or chivalric imagery. The citation above also appears to point to the courtly joust. As this is an image common to all of the George texts, this will be discussed at more length below.

Like the crusader's uniform, the second allusion to specific military imagery in this legend also focuses on the symbolism of clothing. George, seeing the persecution of the Christians, changes his clothes:<sup>6</sup>

E veyendo Sant Jorge esta maldat, ovo ende muy grand dolor en su corazón. E todo lo que él avía diólo a los pobres, e partiósse del hábito de la cavallería. E tomó hábito de *Christiano*. (*Sant Jorge mártir*, 1.84-86)

Here a tension is created between the external appearance of the saint, who

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reziamente, e estoviesen puestas las escalas e non se atreviese ninguno a sobir por ellas, aparescióles *Sant Jorge* con una cruz bermeja en la mano, armado de armas blancas. E fizoles señal que subiesen con seguridad, e avrían la cibdat. E ellos oyendo aquesto, cobraron esfuerço e subieron e mataron a los moros que les resistían la sobida' (fol. 384<sup>ra</sup>-<sup>rb</sup>). Within the context of crusading, the motifs of high social status, the arms of white with a red cross, and bravery are all present and relevant.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of Santiago Matamoros in Castilian miracle tradition, see Connolly (1990: 13-16).

<sup>5</sup> For a history and discussion of the rise of the cult and image of Saint George in Catalan culture, see Millà i Reig (1996: 65-98).

<sup>6</sup> See also *La vida de Sant George (b)*, 1.102-04 and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, 1.73-75.

has exchanged his warlike garb for one that symbolises peace, whilst his actions pass from compassion to belligerence. As he forswears the military lifestyle, he appears to internalise its characteristics as part of his identity.

The meaning of clothing in hagiography has been highlighted by John Anson's treatment of transvestism in female saints. He argues that the motif of female saints taking on male dress was a monastic device to neutralise the anxieties caused by female sanctity, and that the change of dress was symbolic of the saint's desire to break with a former life, in search of 'an ideal of androgynous perfection' (1974: 5). Anson's argument is heavily gendered; nonetheless, the legend of George shows that the rupture between one mode of existence and another by the symbolic use of clothing is equally applicable to the non-transvestite, male saint. Indeed, this suggests that the value of garment substitution is more relevant to changes of social rank and profession, and above all an intensification of faith, rather than issues of gender.

George is an ideal knight as far as appearance, equipment, and military activity are concerned, but he is also the pinnacle of chivalry in other ways. He has a strong link to the medieval Castilian secular social hierarchy. He is described as an 'infançón', is addressed as a 'cavallero', and calls himself a 'fidalgo'.<sup>7</sup> These references reflect not only the mounted qualities of the knight, but also his pretensions to noble blood. However, further to the use of these words, George's family is not relevant to the narrative. The mention of high birth becomes subsumed into his character, implying certain expectations of behaviour rather than representing a particular family. Those to whom he refers as family are those whose spiritual welfare become his responsibility: the princess and Alexandria.

The legend of George takes the social idea of the hierarchy of chivalry and transposes it on to his spiritual life. The saint is a knight serving Christ rather than a secular lord. The power structure of the vassalic bond is safely

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<sup>7</sup> For the references to 'infançón', see above, n1. 'Cavallero': see *Sant Jorge mártir*, l.48, *La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.57, and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.43. 'Fidalgo': see *Sant Jorge mártir*, l.91, *La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.110, and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.79.

preserved within the narrative as an extended metaphor; it is easily recognisable and familiar to contemporaries. The transformation takes place in the quality of the power itself. Furthermore, language and behaviours often seen in the context of secular, social power now represent spiritual qualities and authority.

The best example of this borrowing of the imagery and implications of the chivalric code is the depiction of the fight against the dragon. The representation of the threat to the townsfolk in the form of a dragon provides a typological echo of the serpent in the Garden of Eden. As such, it presents both an immediate physical danger, and a spiritual threat. The use of the dragon is a common metaphor for the temptation to sin, with a biblical precedent from Genesis (3:1-5). In this passage, the serpent persuades Eve and Adam to eat the apple of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and thereby causes them to fall in sin. This link with evil is underlined by the use of the word 'malo' to characterise the dragon.<sup>8</sup>

Dragons are the subject of long and complex literary traditions spanning hagiography, romance, and bestiaries.<sup>9</sup> John K. Walsh saw the motif of the dragon as a standard crossover between these genres, best typified by the legend of George (1977: 191), but also notes its often complex and sometimes contradictory meaning (see also Matzke 1904). The symbiotic relationship between romance and hagiography—both genres develop the motif—culminates in the cross-fertilisation of concepts of sanctity and chivalry, as seen in an episode of *Don Quijote* where the eponymous protagonist blurs the boundary between knights and saints (II, Chapter 58, cited by Walsh 1977: 195).

Here, George conquers the dragon and the sin it represents, showing

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<sup>8</sup> *Sant Jorge mártir*, l.4 and *La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.4. *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)* gives 'muy grande e muy fuerte', l.3-4.

<sup>9</sup> For discussions of the significance of the dragon in hagiographic and chivalric literature, see John K. Walsh (1977) and Fernando Baños Vallejo (1994: 145-47). The medieval Castilian bestiary tradition also gives a description of the dragon (Baldwin 1989: 73), although it states that its main damage is done with its tail, not the mouth.



him to be brave and pure in the model of highest chivalry, where the townsfolk had been unable to conquer it due to the fact that they are not yet baptized. This image also prefigures George's martyrdom. Here he kills an externalised projection of sin in return for the town converting to Christianity. Later, he re-performs this act of purification by allowing his own body, representative of human sin and weakness, to be subjected to martyrdom, doing battle against his human nature in an act that ultimately obliterates his physical existence.

The conflict between the dragon and the town is the first scene represented by the medieval Castilian legends of Compilation B:<sup>10</sup>

E cerca della [la ciudad] era una laguna tan grande *que* semejava mar, en la *qual* estava un dragón malo, en tanto que muchas vegadas el pueblo que vinía *contra* él, les fazia foyr, allegándose al muro de la cibdat, enponçoñava todos los omnes, e con su soflo los espantava. E por ende dávanle cada día ovejas por que amansasse la su saña. E sy desto le menguavan, vinía fasta el muro de la villa, e enponçoñava el ayre, e murían muchos. Esto era grand espanto en todas las tierras.  
(*Sant Jorge mártir*, l.3-9)

On a literal level, the dragon is a real and threatening danger to the townspeople, who spend their time launching attack and counterattack at one another. Its menace lies in its breath, rather than its need to eat. It becomes angry when it is hungry, and poisons the town through spite rather than necessity. Like sin, it works indirectly to cause trouble, propelled by an illogical desire to vandalise when angry.

In this state of combat and spiritual limbo, the community attempts to resolve the situation by feeding the dragon sheep. When the sheep run out, they are forced to draw lots to pick human victims from amongst their children, indirectly alluding to the figure of Christ as sacrificial lamb. In this democratic way, eventually the daughter of the king is chosen as a sacrifice. The human drama that ensues is moving, as the king attempts to buy his daughter's life with gold, silver, and land, and is reminded of the sacrifices

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<sup>10</sup> See also *La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.3-10 and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.2-9.

his subjects have already made. In this way, the sanctity of human life—and in particular spiritual life—is underlined, and material goods are spurned.<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps unexpectedly, one of the main literary results of the threat of abuse of power is an outpouring of lyrical material bemoaning the impending loss of the princess. The king's reluctance to sacrifice her is given in a pair of pre-*adventum* laments. The first is the shorter of the two:<sup>12</sup>

¡Ay, mi fija muy dulce! ¿Qué  
faré o *qué* diré, porque ante veré  
la tu muerte que las tus bodas?  
(*Sant Jorge mártir*, 1.21-22)

¡Ay, la mi fija, e el mi dulçor, e  
el mi corazón e bordón de mi  
salut, e consolación de mi casa!  
¿Qué faré agora, o *qué* diré, *que*  
ante *que* vea la tu boda veré la  
tu muerte? (*La vida de Sant*  
*George [h]*, 1.23-26)

The loss of the princess causes a complete rupture between the king and his purpose, which is to safeguard the security and inheritance of his kingdom. She is precious to him not so much for personal reasons, but because her future ensures the continuance of his line and the production of heirs. Marriage, children, and death become inextricably linked. Love is essentially dynastic; the social codes that dominate representation also structure emotion.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> This is also a theme developed in the legend of Sebastian (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, 1.45-56 and 87-9), and that of Eustace (*La vida de Sant Eustachio*, 1.52-54 and 63-67).

<sup>12</sup> The version given in *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)* is very similar to that in *Sant Jorge mártir*: '¡Ay, la mi fija muy dulce! ¿Qué faré agora o *qué* diré, *que* ante veré tu muerte *que* tus bodas?' (1.20-22).

<sup>13</sup> The lament as a vehicle for expression of both personal and social losses is typical of hagiography. They can also be seen in the legends of Sebastian, Eustace, and Alexis. In the latter, the family's reaction to the dead saint, who has been living unknown to them as a beggar in their house, is ambiguous (Vega 1991: 87-96, particularly 1.34-39 and 94-124). They are more concerned with their own short-sightedness than content with his renown as a saint.

These sentiments are reiterated in the second lament:<sup>14</sup>

E entonce, veyendo el rey *que non* podía librar su fija, vistióla de vestiduras de reyna, e abraçándola, llorando muy fuertemente dixo: '¡Ay, mi fija muy dulce, esperava de aver fijos de ti que casasse, e agora héte de dar al dragón *para* que te coma! ¡Ay, la mi fija muy dulce, cuydava conbidar príncipes a las *tus* bodas, e fenchir el palacio de aljófares, e oír cítolas e viyuelas e todos los otros instrumentos, e agora liévanvos *que* vos coma el dragón!' E començóla de besar, diziendo: 'Fija, Dios ordenara que yo muriera antes que viera la tu muerte en esta manera.' E estonce ella echóse a los pies de su padre, demandándole la su bendición. E bendíxola el padre con muchas lágrimas. (*Sant Jorge mártir*, l.27-37)

In a series of apostrophes to his daughter, the king laments his own misfortunes. He contrasts the sweetness of the girl with the dragon to which she will be fed. A parallel is drawn between marriage and death once again; the girl is dressed in a queen's clothes—not those of an unmarried princess—and the king alludes to the royalty that would be present at a future wedding, with the richly decorated palace full of music. These symbols of civilisation and joy are replaced by an encounter with a dragon, where instead of conducting a ceremonial union of two families in wedlock, the princess will literally be united with the dragon by becoming his food. The king ends his speech with a sense of incomprehension at the inversion

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<sup>14</sup> Again, the version given in *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)* is very similar: 'E quando vio el rey *que non* podía librar su fija, vistióla de paños de reyna, e abraçávala e besávala, e llorava, e dizía: "¡Ay, la mi fija, cuydava conbidar príncipes a las tus bodas e fenchir el palacio de aljófar e de piedras *preciosas*, e de oír alegrías e instrumentos! E agora liévote a echar al dragón. E Dios otorgasse *que* yo muriesse ante *que* esto viesse." E ella echóse a los pies de su padre e demandól su bendición. E el padre bendíxola *con* muchas lágrimas' (l.26-33). Apart from the removal of the sentence in which the king laments his frustrated hopes of having grandchildren, which may have been due to an error in sampling either at the point of composition of the manuscript or at an earlier stage, the content is largely the same. The text of *La vida de Sant George (h)* is discussed below.

of the natural order, in which the child must die before the parent.<sup>15</sup> His inability to grasp paradoxes such as these hint at his lack of understanding, only corrected when he is converted to Christianity by George.

Throughout this exchange, the princess is a silent partner, given no direct speech by the composer of the texts. Her actions typify her obedience and her lack of bitterness towards her father. This portrayal biases the expression of grief towards her father, the one who will be left without her. It objectifies her, making her into a doll-like figure who may be dressed in robes by other people, with no independent reaction other than that which is expected of her as a dutiful daughter. Her importance is symbolic, rather than individual and personal; she is to be lamented because she is a princess and therefore capable of producing royal heirs, not because she is a girl facing an unpleasant and frightening death.

It is worth examining the second lament as it is given in *La vida de Sant George (h)*, which is more expansive:

E estonce, viendo el rey *que non* podía escapar con su fija, vestióla con vestiduras reales, e abraçávala e besávala, e llorava muy fuertemente, e dezía: ‘Ay, la mi fija mucho dulce, ¿*qué* criazón mala crié en ti tanto tiempo ha, para yo ver agora tales bodas de ti? ¡Ay, llaga del mi cuerpo *que* nunca sanará! Ca, fija, yo cuydava criar los tus fijos, e agora dásme fijos de dolores con los quales nunca se alegre mi alma, e agora liévante al dragón *que* te coma. ¡Ay, la mi fija dulce, yo cuydava conbidar los príncipes a las tus bodas, e fenchir los palacios de paños e de aljófar; e cuydava oír cítolas e vihuelas e todos los otros instrumentos! E agora oyré muchas amarguras e cubriré los mis palacios de mucho duelo, ca veo agora levar la mi fija al dragón *que* la coma.’ E besóla, e díxole: ‘Fija mía, Dios deviera ordenar *que* muriese yo ante *que* verte yo meter en la boca del dragón.’ E estonce, la infante llorando muy fuertemente, echóse a los pies del padre e demandóle *que* le diese la su bendición. E bendíxola con muchas lágrimas. (l. 31-45)

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<sup>15</sup> This is also an image in the legend of Sebastian, in which the parents of Marcellian and Marcus are faced with the death of their sons, and express their powerlessness (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.11-31; *La vida de Sant Savastían*, also l.11-31).

This passage is one of the most expanded sections of any of the three legends. The king complicates the sense of powerlessness and frustration seen in the other accounts by hinting at a vague sense of guilt in his own actions ('¿qué criazón mala crié en ti tanto tiempo ha?'). He binds the death of his daughter to his own physical existence by referring to her as an eternal wound, where her life and death are inextricably linked to his own pain. Continuing this analogy, he compares the frustration of his plans for grandchildren with the 'fijos de dolores' that she will now give him: mental torture instead of hope for the future. The juxtaposition of his imagined happiness at her wedding with his current despair at her situation is also developed, with bitter tunes played instead of viols and zithers, and a cover of pain instead of pearl-sewn drapes. All of this comparison is implicit in the other medieval Castilian accounts, but the scribe of *La vida de Sant George (h)* lends a more expansive lyric voice to the scene.

The laments are unusual in that they form a passage that is notable for its variety even within Compilation B. Whether due to corrupt readings or imaginative writers, each manuscript offers a slightly different version of this section, suggesting that the lament is important. In the introduction to his book on funeral elegies in Castilian, Eduardo Camacho Guizado highlights the unusual constancy of the genre through time, which he attributes to the universality of the experience of death (1969: 20).<sup>16</sup> The threat of death pervades the entire narrative of the legend of George, from the dragon through to the final scene of martyrdom. When seen in this light, the lament draws attention to humanity's experience of death from an early point, rather than being tangential to the thematic construction of the narrative. However, the king's reaction, like all mourning, conflicts with Christian teaching: he sees death as an end in despair. Later, this perspective will be replaced with the notion that death is the gateway to full and perfect life, in line with doctrine.

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<sup>16</sup> Other work on the Castilian lament tradition includes Hook (1978), Severin (1989), and Deyermond (1990b), all on Pleberio's lament in *La Celestina*, and Haywood (2000) on the female-voice lament.

This section is also noteworthy by merit of its anachronism. The life of Saint George is nominally set in the third or fourth century; the mention of princes and viols gives the narrative a specifically medieval courtly backdrop. It is against this quasi-historical framework that George can bridge the gap between distant past and contemporary relevance, characterised equally as knight and saint.

The portrayal of George meeting the princess and discovering her plight continues in this courtly vein. He demonstrates his courage, an archetypal quality of the good knight, as he tells her not to fear and she praises his bravery.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, he swears an oath typical of chivalric romances: 'Non me partiré de ti fasta que me digas qué has, o por qué estás aquí' (*Sant Jorge mártir*, 1.45-46).<sup>18</sup> Despite the danger to his life, he is characterised as willing to risk everything in order to help the princess, recalling the devotion of secular heroes of romance to their courtly ladies.

George here also plays the part of successful protector, a role that should have been fulfilled by the king. The surrogate family relations that are established between him and the princess are emphasised by her calling him both 'cavallero' and 'hermano', and George calling her 'fija' in response.<sup>19</sup> Not only is he the perfect saint; he also successfully fulfils secular duties of family protection.

The exchange between George and the princess culminates in the epitome of knightly activity: the battle against the dragon, which, as mentioned above in reference to *La vida de Sant George (h)*, is described as a

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<sup>17</sup> *Sant Jorge mártir*, 1.42-47; *La vida de Sant George (h)*, 1.50-57; *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, 1.37-42.

<sup>18</sup> See also *La vida de Sant George (h)*, 1.54-55 and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, 1.40.

<sup>19</sup> 'Cavallero': *Sant Jorge mártir*, 1.47; *La vida de Sant George (h)*, 1.57; *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, 1.43. 'Hermano': *Sant Jorge mártir*, 1.41; *La vida de Sant George (h)*, 1.49; *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, 1.36. 'Fija', *Sant Jorge mártir*, 1.43 and 47; *La vida de Sant George (h)*, 1.51 and 56; *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, 1.37 and 41.

joust. The text given in *Sant Jorge mártir* is as follows:<sup>20</sup>

E luego Jorge subió en su cavallo, e armándose con la cruz, fue con grand osamiento contra el dragón que venía contra él. E enderesçando la lança e acomendándose a Dios, firiólo de muerte, e echólo en tierra.  
(l. 53-56)

Like crusading, the joust offered a physically active and sanctioned arena in which to prove one's mettle. George excels at it, bravely and piously casting a single blow, which wounds the dragon.

Jousting, however, does not occur in a vacuum. It is a space in which to display courage and skill in front of both peers and ladies. Much of the romantic (in both the philological and the popular senses) overlay to the legend is due to this allusion to jousting.<sup>21</sup> Ruth Mazo Karras argues that the tournament is a way of affirming one's masculinity to a masculine audience via the approval of feminine viewers, and as such strengthens both heterosexual and homosocial bonds (2003: 47-49). This reading is valid for the legend of George, where the gaze of the princess, as witness to the saint's deeds, is framed by the attention of the audience. This binds both to George in admiration, which in the case of the princess may even have the erotic connotations common to the spirit in which courtly ladies watched tournaments, judging knights on their performance. Further to this, the lance may be read as a symbol of the phallus, sign of George's typically masculine qualities, such as courage.

The disadvantage of such a reading is that it is easy to forget that this is not a secular romance; with such elaborate courtly and sexual implications, it would be easy to extrapolate too much from the text. However, when combined with the moralistic reading of the dragon as a metaphor for sin, and consequently the joust as an image for a battle between Christianity and evil, the conflicting connotations enrich one another. This ambiguity is one

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<sup>20</sup> See also *La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.61-65 (cited above), and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.46-48.

<sup>21</sup> For a reading of this conflict that draws on folkloric and pictorial sources, see Riches (2000: 140-78).

of the reasons that the legend has so long been both popular and open to censorship.

With the exception of the fact that George later draws his sword and kills the dragon, showing that he has all of the three main weapons of the knight (the lance and sword to attack, the shield to defend), the fight with the dragon marks the end of his representation as an explicit paragon of chivalry. From this point, his spiritual and instructive qualities are given prominence in order to balance his physical attributes. However, the elements of bravery and intolerance towards enemies continue throughout the depiction of his martyrdom. Sanctity and forbearance become equal parts of his character, and the chivalric ethos is never fully left behind.

The second half of the legend is concerned with George's martyrdom at the hands of Roman persecutors, the emperors Diocletian and Maximian and the procurator Dacianus. The saint's attitude towards his faith intensifies in response to the suffering he sees around him and the many Christians who bow to the pressure and give up their beliefs. At this point he rejects the trappings of the chivalric lifestyle and takes on the garb of a Christian (*San Jorge mártir*) or 'religioso' (*La vida de Sant George [h]* and *[M]*). There is a shift from chivalric to monastic. Evil is now personified in the figure of the persecutor instead of the dragon, and sin is internalised and represented by George's own body, which must be conquered in death.<sup>22</sup>

The martyrdom of Saint George has proven to be a point of controversy since 494, when Pope Gelasius I identified it as an example of incredible hagiography. Even in the more concise version represented by Compilation B, George's martyrdom is still dramatic and extraordinary. He is beaten and dismembered, and salt is rubbed into the wounds; he is given poison to drink; he is set on a wheel of knives; he is placed in a bath of molten lead; finally, he is dragged through the city by horses, and beheaded.

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<sup>22</sup> The vast majority of *passiones* popular in the medieval period were set in the Roman Empire before the conversion to Christianity in 313. As a consequence, Roman emperors, governors, and other officials become almost synonymous with the persecutor in hagiography.



George bears these tortures with a mixture of miraculous protection (such as the bath of lead), divine comfort after the event (the first beating), and ultimate joy at reaching paradise in death. In the emphasis on multiple and formulaic tortures, Samantha Riches aligns the legend with the model commonly adopted by those of female virgin martyrs (2000: 61). Although she argues that George is not feminised, the structure and use of motifs such as invulnerability to pain and repeated tortures show that the *passiones* are not clearly segregated by gendered models of narrative. Despite the arrival of the dragon episode, the *passio* is still powered by George's death.

Therefore, martyrdom becomes (or always was) the narrative backbone of the legend; not only in the sense that any *passio* will have death as its goal, but also that the tortures and tricks that George undergoes are all variations upon this theme. Rather than being subjected to cumulative torments that reach a pinnacle in the one that kills the saint, any single one of George's ordeals would be likely to kill a character not under divine protection.

Martyrdom is a communal act; the individual martyr needs a persecutor, and also a witnessing body. The character of George has so far been depicted as a holy knight, recognised as such by the inhabitants of Silene. This emphasis on the social structure of his actions continues into his persecution, making it a power struggle between persecutor and persecuted, judged by an audience.

The conflicts of persecution are seen in their purest form in scenes where George encounters the governor, Dacianus. At these points, the struggle is between the greatest available secular power, represented by Rome, and the spiritual power working through the saint. In the scene where Dacianus attempts to cajole George into worshipping his idols, it is clear that both are concerned about the messages implicit in persecution:<sup>23</sup>

[Daciano] pensó que lo vencería con falagos pues que lo *non* podía vencer con tantas maneras de tormentos, e dixo: 'Ves, fijo Jorge, cómo te son manssos los *nuestros* dioses; aunque los as blasfemado, aún te sufren con grand paciencia e *quíerente* perdonar, sy te quisieres tornar

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<sup>23</sup> See also *La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.138-48 and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.102-11.

a ellos. E por ende, mío fijo dulce, faz lo que te yo amonesto, que dexes esta locura *que* tienes de los *Christianos*, e sacrifica a los *nuestros* dioses por tal que de ellos e de nos rescibas muchas honrras.' E respondió Jorge como riendo: '¿Cómo non me falagueste assí en el comienço? Así lo devieras fazer, *que non* atormentarme. E evas, *que* quiero fazer *quánto* tú mandares.' (*Sant Jorge mártir*, l.119-29)

Dacianus, endeavouring to flatter George, points out the loving, forgiving attitude of his pagan gods, who in their capacity to tolerate, show their greatness. Their tolerance is symbolic of Roman tolerance and the end of persecution, if George agrees to do as he is asked. When the power of the idols is tested and fails, the governor's power is also weakened, as their reputations are mutually dependent. Dacianus requires George to sacrifice to his gods in order to maintain his control over the social situation; his concern for the saint's spiritual welfare and relationship with those gods is secondary.

George, understanding the game, easily turns it to his advantage. Like Dacianus, he promises a reward: seeing a Christian worship in his temple, symbolic of his submission to the Roman ways. Like Dacianus, he promises this only in order to further his own cause. Like Dacianus, George requires the public arena of the temple in order to gain the maximum audience, and therefore to maximise the impact of the miracle. The saint, when confronted by rhetoric and cajolment, can turn them to his own advantage, highlighting the fact that his social perception is no mere redundant skill but a useful tool.

At this point, the saint displays qualities typical of a hero of secular literature rather than those more overtly linked with hagiography. In his discussion of the *Cantar de mio Cid*, Alan Deyermond notes that the hero is typified by 'su mesura, su destreza mental, su prudencia económica' (1987: 24). He also sees in the Cid the fusion of *fortitudo* and *sapientia* (26). Furthermore, he argues that the poem's structure is dictated by the themes of honour, marriage, and the relationship between lord and vassal (29). These ideas are also appropriate to some degree for the representation of George's sanctity during his persecution, despite the difference in genre and

purpose. In particular, George's endurance of torments is the epitome of *fortitudo*, while his *sapientia* is demonstrated in his handling of the situation in the temple. The comparison with the Cid is complimentary to both the hero and the saint.

The appropriation of this terminology across genres is enlightening in the case of George, but must be used with care. It does not apply so easily to all hagiography, or even to a subsection of superficially similar narratives or characters. To enforce Deyermond's ideas about the epic hero would wilfully distort them, adding new connotations and ignoring existing subtleties. This is shown by qualities such as economic prudence, which is surely contrary to the Christian principle of rejecting worldly goods. The dominant theme of *de contemptu mundi* characterises these skills as inferior to spiritual strength and insight; although they may be used to further the saint's cause, they are not typifying qualities or goals in themselves.

The second part of the episode takes place after George has been to the temple and heavenly fire has razed it to the ground:<sup>24</sup>

E quando esto oyó Daciano, fizole venir ante sí. E díxole: 'Mal omne, ¿qué encantamentos son éstos que tú fazes, e estos maleficios? Ca feziste muy grand trayción.' E díxole Jorge: 'Rey, non quieras creer que asý es, mas ve conmigo e verme has sacrificar otra vegada.' E díxole él: 'Entendiendo el tu engaño que tú quieres fazer, non te quiero creer, ca bien sé que querías que me sorviesse la tierra así como feziste sorver el tenplo.' E díxole Giorje: '¡Mesquino! Dime, los tus dioses que non pudieron ayudar a sí, ¿cómo ayudarán a ti?' (*Sant Jorge mártir*, l.142-50)

Dacianus loses control, calling George a 'Mal omne', recalling the adjective used earlier in the narrative to describe the dragon. He is also disturbed by the way in which he has been outwitted and betrayed. George, however, simply points out the wordplay that allowed him to avoid lying. By saying that he will perform sacrifice, and omitting to specify for whom the sacrifice is intended, he shows himself able to play the king at his own rhetorical game, answering bluff with bluff and question with question. Only when

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<sup>24</sup> See also *La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.162-69 and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.124-30.

Dacianus calls George's bluff does the saint reply directly, and demonstrate the inadequacy of the pagan idols. Here, he makes explicit the link between the governor's power and the power of his idols. Dacianus' authority is sustained by the credence of those subject to his idols but, by the same token, collapses if its believers fall away.

George, representative of spiritual power, proves himself stronger than his secular adversary by attaining his goals. He withstands torture by divine intervention, performs miracles, and gains the martyr's crown. However, he simultaneously demonstrates the necessity of engaging with earthly tricks of wordplay and bluff. He thus shows himself as apt for the courtroom setting of verbal acrobatics as the direct and physical arena of the torture chambers and execution ground.<sup>25</sup>

A direct consequence of the trickery in the temple is the conversion of the queen Alexandria, wife of Dacianus. This conversation brings in many of the elements seen thus far:<sup>26</sup>

E el enperador, muy sañudo, dixo a su muger Alixandria: 'Morirme he fallesciendo, ca veo que me desonrra este omne.' E díxole ella: '¡Carnicero malo, cruell! ¿Non te dixes yo muchas vegadas: non quieras fazer mal a los *Christianos*, ca el su Dios lidia por ellos? E agora sepas que yo quiero ser *Christiana*.' E el enperador, maravillándose, dixo: '¡E tú, muger, engañada eres!' (*Sant Jorge mártir*, l.150-55)

The persecutor (now promoted to emperor) sees his failure to repress George in terms of personal honour. He reminds the audience of the parallels seen with courtly behaviour and chivalry that were highlighted earlier in the narrative, and of Deyermond's description of qualities proper to the epic. This gives his wife, a new character for the audience, the opportunity to berate her husband for his cruelty and stupidity.

There are clear parallels between the two halves of the narrative. The first half, containing the section about the dragon, may be read as a

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<sup>25</sup> The use of dialogue or debate as a form of competition in a clerical or academic setting is discussed at length in Karras (2003: 67-108).

<sup>26</sup> See also *La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.169-76 and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, l.130-35.

figurative version of the second, which concerns George's martyrdom. In this case, Alexandria is a typological fulfilment of the princess. Converted to Christianity by George's deeds, a number of different readings shed light on this equation. First, it is possible to see an attempt to redress the gender imbalance of the chivalric saint by including female characters in the narrative. Second, George is an outsider, and both the princess and Alexandria are from within the court, showing that the saint is not an isolated figure. Third, on a more symbolic level, the female characters can be seen as representative of humanity, or more particularly the Christian Church (grammatically feminine in both Latin and Castilian). George, in martyrdom, performs an act of *imitatio Christi*. At the same time, he recalls another image of Christ: that of Christ as bridegroom and the Church as bride, to be joined in mystical union. This is highlighted further by the fact that the princess wears the robes of a queen on her way to the dragon, suggesting a change in status that would presuppose marriage. George's martyrdom does not merely reflect Christ as martyr, but implies a complex series of other images at the same time.

Between them, the Roman persecutor and his wife create opposing responses to George. The former chooses to fight against him, whereas the latter changes her faith in order to embrace the set of ideals that he offers. Both are structurally vital, because *passiones* depend both on the figure of the persecutor and the witness, who becomes a kind of example within an exemplar. The two characters also represent the different types of power with which George comes into contact. Dacianus and the first king embody earthly authority, which is prone, like the town of Silene, to physical attack, implying its ultimate destiny of decay. Even the king is powerless to save his own flesh and blood. Transcending this power, and operating in conjunction with the divine, George is able not only to tackle a dangerous beast safely, but also to save the princess, and later the soul of the queen. However, even this is ambiguous, because in restoring the princess to her family and persuading them to live as Christians, George does not destroy the old order of earthly power. Instead, he stabilises it and renews it with a different purpose, albeit with the old social structure still in place.

The context in which the confrontations of these types of power take place is one that has connotations of the courtroom. Clarity is key as George's orthodoxy is demonstrated. From the tenth century onwards, the Acts of saints were carefully scrutinised before canonisation was approved by the Church, and therefore wording was important (Woodward 1996). Structurally, the expression of the saint is also fundamental, as he delivers his statement of belief and his reason for wishing to die at the same time as positioning himself as an opposite to his persecutor. Here, the verbal battle between George and Dacianus is depicted as a distillation of the struggle between Christian and pagan. Language is transformed into a tool for combat. Historically, however, the involvement of the persecutor was often at a remove. Roman officials executed the laws of the state, which reduced the act of martyrdom to rebellion against society, which diminishes the personal element of the conflict. For these reasons, it was in the Roman interest to minimise the publicity given to Christian martyrdom. Exceptions occurred when civic functions were used as a public arena for martyrdom in order to celebrate an occasion, or to reinforce the power of the state as a deterrent to criminal or subversive behaviour.<sup>27</sup> On the contrary, it is more common in hagiography to find the battle of wills played out in as public an arena as possible, as both sides strive to humiliate and defeat the other before the maximum audience.

The rich typological content that can be drawn from the process of the clash of the two individuals, martyr and persecutor, has been noted by scholars of hagiography. Charles F. Altman sees 'diametrical opposition' in martyrdom narratives, one of the two types of contrast governing the structure of hagiographic works (1975: 1). He argues that this has three elements. First, there must be a dialogue between two opposing groups. Second, each group must try to win the other over to its point of view, or

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<sup>27</sup> David Potter (1993: 59-60) relates the case of Cyprian, whose execution in 257 was attended with little ceremony. For the public functions of martyrdom for Rome, see Potter (1993) and Bowersock (1995: 48).

eliminate it. Third, each side must have a 'support system' comprising a deity and a sympathetic body of witnesses (2).

Altman's theory certainly holds true in the case of George, whose martyrdom is initiated by his provocative words against the pagans. This evokes a reaction from Dacianus:<sup>28</sup>

Entonce el adelantado fue contra él sañudo, diziendo: '¿Cómo fuyste tú osado de llamar diablos a los *nuestros* dioses?' (*Sant Jorge mártir*, 1.89-90)

George draws attention to the distance between his viewpoint and that of the society surrounding him by judging the two religious possibilities and making a blunt comparison between them. This leads to several conversations with his persecutor. In these, Dacianus attempts to persuade, cajole, threaten, and torture his faith out of him, before finally killing him in an ultimately doomed effort to remove the saint and his message. There is also a complex system of witnesses, including a torturer-turned-convert in the form of the magician, the implied bystanders in the public places and the temple, and the queen Alexandria. Further to this, George is supported by divine aid, and by Saint Ambrose, whose abbreviated commentaries are interpolated into the texts.<sup>29</sup> The narrative voice must also be included in this category, as it employs positive adjectives and adverbs to describe the saint and other Christians, and negative ones for George's adversaries.

Continuing Altman's work, Alison Goddard Elliott argued that martyrdom is essentially a social act, characterised by discourse and by the dissolution of the martyr's individual identity into a community of believers (1987: 18-22). Discourse, as has already been noted, plays a fundamental part in the legend of George, both as a means of instigating the persecution, and as a manner of setting out the values of each side. Her second notion, that of the dissolution of the individual, is a more subtle observation.

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<sup>28</sup> See also *La vida de Sant George (h)*, 1.106-08 and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, 1.76-78.

<sup>29</sup> *Sant Jorge mártir* (1.139-41): '¡Bienaventurado e noble lidiador fuyste, Jorge, que las promessas del rey temporal non lo pudieron trastornar, mas ha engañado al perseguidor, e todos los ídolos echó en los abismos!' See also *La vida de Sant Jorge (h)*, 1.159-61 and *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*, 1.120-23.

George gives up his knightly garb and arms in favour of Christian or religious dress. However, he still identifies himself in terms of his personal features. In reply to the persecutor's question, he says:<sup>30</sup>

Jorge me dizen, e soy fidalgo; de tierra de Capadocia soy natural, e todo lo desanparé por amor de servir a Jhesu Christo. (*Sant Jorge mártir*, l.91-93)

He gives a name, a social rank, and a place of birth. However, he undermines this identity by saying that he has given it up for the sake of Christ. The 'todo' is ambiguous; it could refer to the wealth and comfortable lifestyle proper to someone of his rank, but it could also refer to Elliott's more dramatic sense of a total rejection of individuality for his cause.

George's new communal identity is one he shares with his Christian witnesses and converts. The magician and Alexandria are the most prominent of these. As Elliott observes, they construct a bond between them that is modelled on the social group of the family (1987: 20). This is demonstrated by the fact that George calls the queen 'fija' (*Sant Jorge mártir*, l.158).<sup>31</sup>

Elliott's theory of rejected or transformed identity is applicable to the medieval Castilian legend of George. However, she uses it in a restricted sense, specifically applying it to the social character of the saint. This misses some of the richer implications, as the rejection of the self also has a specific meaning for martyrdom, because the saint's goal is obtained only through the complete abjection of the body. George's flesh is torn and irritated from

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<sup>30</sup> The equivalent passage in *La vida de Sant George (h)* is given at l.110-13 as: 'Yo só fijo dalgo e dizenme George, e só natural de Capadocia; e guiándome Dios vine a tierra de Palestina, e todo lo que avía desanparé por amor de Jhesu Christo por que le podiese mejor servir.' The equivalent in *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)* is at l.78-81: 'A mí dizen George, e só omne fidalgo de tierra de Capadocia; e guiándome Jhesu Christo vin a Palestina, mas todo lo desanparé por que sirviesse mejor al mi Señor Jhesu Christo.' The mention of Palestine, not given in *Sant Jorge mártir*, offers a further piece of textual evidence with which to confirm the difference between the two sides of the stemma (see Chapter Three).

<sup>31</sup> *Sant Jorge mártir*, l.158; *La vida de Sant George (h)*, l.180 (given as 'Fija de Dios'); *La vida de Sant Jorge*, l.138.



the outside, poisoned from the inside, boiled in a pot, and cut by knives. Finally, in the moment of decapitation, his head is separated from his body. This may be read as the act that allows his soul, represented by the head, to leave it and go to paradise.<sup>32</sup> George dissociates himself not only from his inherited social position, but also his own body, and thereby the locus of any sin.

The theories of Altman and Elliott are clearly rich, but could be worked out further. My work on the legend of Saint Christopher in medieval Castilian hagiography suggested that the structural distinction between the *passio* and the *vita* was perhaps too simplistic, and in the case of Christopher required a third, intermediate category (2008: 24-25). This constitutes a dialogue between the diametrical and gradational oppositions, combining characteristics of both in a self-referential prequel to the martyrdom. In the legend of Christopher, parallels of plot, imagery, and typology occur between the two halves of the legend. The account of George also shows these parallels, where the events of the dragon episode in the first half are reflected in the second.

If George's individuality is sublimated into an act of self-sacrifice and *imitatio Christi* at the end of the narrative, as Elliott argues, it would be reasonable to expect a move from the personalised to the generalised over the course of the account. However, despite using topoi common to the *passio*, the composer portrays the saint with a certain amount of independence. His attitude towards his own death is of particular interest. George uses martyrdom in a public way, as though aware of his own exemplarity. He chooses the time and location for his own arrest by deliberately provoking the governor, fulfilling an evangelical function as he proclaims his faith. The range of methods he uses to frustrate his persecutor includes the formulation of direct challenges to the Roman faith, endurance of physical torture, and trickery. Unlike the portrayal of martyrdom in Saint Eustace (*La vida de Sant Eustachio*, l.208-21), George is presented as an active

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<sup>32</sup> See Beresford (2000: 51n15) for a summary of the significance of the head in medieval Castilian epic; also see Ross (1962).

rather than a passive object of torture, which appears to be a paradox. He asks for his persecution, and manipulates it to gain a maximum advantage and exposure. In this way, he is active in his response to the threat of persecution. However, he gladly accepts the torture and execution meted out to him, and in this way he is passive and obedient.

The legend of George successfully reconciles a number of paradoxes. It makes intelligible a model of sanctity that is not restricted to monastic or ecclesiastical figures; rather, the saint is specifically depicted with the colours and behaviour of a chivalrous knight. In this way, a marriage of the images of martyr and warrior is achieved. Further to this, these models are manipulated by the narrative to create a complex reflective structure in which the first half acts as a typological precursor to the second, doubling what appear to be dissimilar narrative styles.

On a conceptual level, the tensions established by these juxtapositions are fruitful. For example, they highlight the uniqueness of George's actions within a framework of *imitatio Christi*, in which he is portrayed as aiming to become subsumed into a Christian community. The slippage of meaning and possibility for multiple interpretations have long been cause for the legend's popularity, both in medieval Castile and in a wider historical and geographical context.

The texts of Compilation B provide slightly abbreviated versions of the reading from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. However, they all expand those sections pertaining to emotion, emphasising the human dimension of a legend that casts its protagonist as a true representative both of his contemporary social structures, and of their rejection.

## Chapter Five

### Saint Sebastian: Lords, Vassals, and Multiple Narratives

A cursory glance at the legend of Saint Sebastian in Compilation B shows that it differs greatly from that of George. One of the most salient differences is that although it is constructed around the central figure of Sebastian, his words and actions constitute a relatively small amount of text. Instead, he shares the focus with other characters who also play active parts. The relationships between these characters therefore become important, and the interplay between them is the focus of this chapter. This leads to an examination of the structure of the different narrative strands, which, like the characters they represent, are complex and mutually dependent. Finally, I look at the implications of this multiple structuring within hagiography.

Sebastian himself is fixed in a rigid hierarchical structure at the beginning of the narrative:<sup>1</sup>

Sant Sevastián, cavallero, muy buen *Christiano*, nació en Narbona e era morador en Millán. E era muy amado de los enperadores Diocleciano e Maximiano, en tanto que era príncipe de los cavalleros. E mandávanle los enperadores que sienpre estoviesse ante ellos. (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.1-5)

His faith, unknown to the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, is no barrier to his promotion. He occupies a privileged position within the Roman military and social structure, and a favoured place in the eyes of the rulers. In this way, he begins the narrative in a similar position to Eustace.

However, Sebastian manipulates his power in order to visit imprisoned Christians by night, turning the advantages and liberties offered by his position to meet his personal aims. This provokes a sense of disappointment

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<sup>1</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.1-5. All Castilian texts can be found in Appendix 1; *De sancto Sebastiano* is included in Appendix 3.

in his masters:<sup>2</sup>

E después desto el adelantado dixo mal de Sant Sevastián, e Diocleciano el enperador llamólo e díxole: ‘Yo sienpre te tove entre los príncipes en el mío palacio, e andoviste encubiertamente fasta agora contra la mi salud e tortizando a los dioses.’ E dixo Sevastián: ‘Yo rogué sienpre a Jhesu Christo por la tu salud, e rogué sienpre a Dios que es en el cielo por el estado del Enperio de Roma.’ (*Sant Sevastián mártir*, l.121-26)

Diocletian (Maximian is not mentioned after the opening passage) is dismayed by Sebastian’s behaviour, which is perceived to be an act both of political and of personal treachery. However, the saint’s reply is striking: in working for the Christian Church, he prays for the emperor’s welfare, as well as that of the state of which he is head. The adverb ‘sienpre’ reflects his constancy, and anticipates his posthumous role as intercessor on behalf of sinners. Sebastian’s duties to his faith will transcend any others.

The bond between Sebastian and the Roman emperor takes its imagery from the relationship between lord and vassal, often discussed with reference to Castilian epic. The role of the vassal is more complex than a mere process of symbiotic loyalty and protection. In effect, the concepts of *consilium* and *auxilium* are subtle, and subject to a variety of literary depictions. For example, the ritualised kinship enacted through mutual support and gift-giving in the *Poema de mio Cid* as described by Michael Harney (1993: 55-98) is a world away from the subjection of the vassals in the *Poema de Fernán González* discussed by Julian Weiss (2006: 159-72). The sliding scale of apparent equality between lord and vassal implies everything from relationships in which the distinction between superior and inferior is only nominal, to those in which vassals are totally dependent upon a despotic master.

In hagiography, both ends of this earthly scale are present, and the complex social situation is further complicated by an additional loyalty to a divine lord. Sebastian’s faith is total, and overrides any duty to an earthly

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<sup>2</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.122-26.

master such as Diocletian. For the emperor, who is not a Christian and therefore does not understand the bond the saint has with Christ, the dissolution of his service is the ultimate betrayal. For Sebastian, the choice of action is simple and obvious.

It is worth exploring the varieties within the lord-vassal relationship in more depth with regard to the relationship between the saint and God. True to Harney's interpretation, Sebastian acts in a manner that is freely chosen in order to render his divine lord a gift of love, symbolised by martyrdom. In an act of *imitatio Christi*, he represents Christ's power on earth, both in the sense of being a conduit for it, and as a re-performance of it to an audience in his own geographical and historical setting. The bond is of mutual benefit to Sebastian and Christ, interpreted in a way that maintains the individuality of each.

However, Weiss argues that anxieties over the feudal bond are intricately woven into the ideological fabric of the *Poema de Fernán González* (2006: 160). Their simultaneous maintenance and the threat of their severance constitute the symbolic arena for the power struggles that drive the narrative. These anxieties are also confronted in the form of Sebastian's earthly duties, in that his social relationships collapse in the face of his devotion to God, and lead towards his martyrdom. However, the multifaceted reciprocal element of the bond, in that a lord may also be a vassal to a superior lord, is eliminated from its representation in hagiography. The saint may only take the role of a vassal in relation to the divine, never that of a lord. Therefore, the anxieties posed by the composer of the *Poema de Fernán González* are resolved by the hierarchical structuring of relationships and the rendering of all humanity to the status of vassal in a bond with Christ.

As noted in Chapter Four, the overlap of the chivalric knight and the saint often has military overtones. The bond between lord and vassal does not consist merely of financial and emotional support, but also of taking on physical risk. If the analogy of vassalic loyalty between Sebastian and Christ is applied to this level, the saint would be expected to attack his lord's

enemies in the same way as he would an opponent in war.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the legend depicts Sebastian allowing little hope for enemies of the Christian faith (including doubters and the ignorant as well as persecutors). He is particularly vocal in his condemnation of things he perceives to be pernicious, such as the vanities of earthly life or idols (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, 1.45-56 and 85-91; *La vida de Sant Savastián*, 1.46-57 and 84-90). There is a sense of duty underlying the sermon in which he persuades others to convert, and his ability as a preacher forms part of the service he performs for his divine lord. In this way the analogy of the vassal required to provide manpower for warfare is appropriate, as the saint swells the army of the Church by his words and example.

The complexities of the lord-vassal relationship are further deepened by the presentation of Sebastian in the context of his relationships with other characters in the narrative. Unlike the devoted vassal to a divine lord or a humble servant of the Roman emperors, he shows firm leadership to those who form his flock. For example, he tells the senator Chromatius in clear terms how to rid himself of his illness:<sup>4</sup>

Mas cierto es que tú non crees como debes, e guardeste algunos  
ýdolos.[...] En tanto que tovieres este thesoro, non avrás sanidat.  
(*Sant Sebastián mártir*, 1.86-87 and 90-91)

His unyielding position is set out in accusatory and indirectly imperative language. This forms a contrast with Chromatius' inability to take firm control of his own vassals. When he orders them to break up the idols, Sebastian remarks that they are afraid to carry out the task in case a demon should possess them by way of punishment (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, 1.79-83; *La*

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<sup>3</sup> D. G. Pattison (1996) notes that loyalty to a lord, giving gifts to him, and addressing him respectfully are some of the principle characteristics of the Cid's treatment of his estranged lord, Alfonso, in the *Poema de mio Cid*. These features hold true for all of the hagiographic texts discussed here, in which the saints show loyalty even to death, give up all worldly belongings (including their bodies), and are careful always to address their prayers in a humble tone.

<sup>4</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastián*, 1.85-86 and 90.

*vida de Sant Savastián*, also 1.79-83). Finally, Sebastian and Polycarp break the idols themselves. Chromatius' lack of control exposes him as a weak leader, an image further enhanced by his ill health.

His authority is further underlined by the passage in which Zoë, the wife of Nicostratus, is cured of her inability to speak and reports a vision with her first words:

¡Bendita sea la palabra de la tu boca, e bendictos sean los que creen lo que tú dizes! Ca vi el ángel que tenía el libro delante ty abierto, do eran escriptas todas las cosas que tú dizías.  
(*Sant Sebastián mártir*, 1.63-65)

¡Bendita sea la palabra de la tu boca, e benditos sean aquéllos que creen lo que tú dizes! Ca vi el ángel que tenía el libro ante ti, do están escriptas todas estas cosas. (*La vida de Sant Savastián*, 1.65-68)

The vision of him reading from the divine book strengthens the weight of Sebastian's sermon.<sup>5</sup>

Sebastian's words are of the utmost importance to the legend. Unlike George or Eustace, he has a highly developed role as a preacher. Stimulated by the wavering of Marcellian and Marcus, he gives a sermon on the futility of earthly life and consequences in the future world to an audience of prospective martyrs, their reluctant families, and their jailers:<sup>6</sup>

Non ayades miedo, que non se partirán de vos, mas van vos aparejar las casas e las moradas del cielo. Ca del comienço del mundo, esta vida engaña a los que fían en ella, e así non dio cosa cierta a ninguno, por que devemos creer que es mentirosa. Ca amonesta al ladrón que furte, e a la saña que sea cruel; engaña al engañador, e faze pecar al omne, e adúzele a las cosas suzias. Mas esta persecución que aquí sofrimos, oy paresce e cras non es nada. Oy se enciende e cras se enfría, e non dura más de una ora. Mas el dolor que sienpre ha de durar, sienpre se renueva e crece,

<sup>5</sup> It is worth noting that Zoë's vision is reported only in *La vida de Sant Savastián* and FLG 419. It is not present in Escorial K-II-12, while the passage in BMP 9 is affected by a lacuna.

<sup>6</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastián*, 1.43-57.

por que más enpezca, enciéndese por que más atormente. E por ende ofrescémolos para rescebir martirio por amor de Dios, ca en esto se vence el diablo. Ca en tanto que prende, es preso; e en tanto que tiene, es vencido. E en tanto que atormenta, es atormentado; e en tanto que deguella, es degollado, e en tanto que escarnesce, es escarnescido. (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, 1.43-56)

Sebastian's sermon constructs a series of formulaic images on the *de contemptu mundi* theme. It then transpires that they symbolise the inverse of their apparent meaning, highlighting the deceptive nature of human life. This alludes to the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:3-10), which plays on the same imagery of inversion, although Sebastian's words come to a different conclusion: the only approach to true Christian life is through martyrdom. The saint uses the language of human society in order to expose its shortcomings in the same way that he manipulates his role within that society to subvert it.<sup>7</sup> This tension between truth and the violent world echoes and contrasts with the mother's earlier exhortations to Marcellian and Marcus (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, 1.13-16; *La vida de Sant Savastían*, 1.14-17). Where the mother used the imagery of warfare and imprisonment to dissuade her sons from persisting in their resolve, Sebastian uses precisely the same imagery for the opposite purpose. He exposes her rhetoric as fundamentally cowardly, and instead advises them to engage with the battle with courage. This shows his able leadership.

The saint's sermon provides an alternative approach to life to an audience of characters who have always trusted in their own powers. Their vision of the world is annihilated. An example is the case of Chromatius, who asks for a cure for his illness. Sebastian tells him that he will not be cured until he has destroyed all of his idols, but the one that the senator keeps hidden is an unusual one:<sup>8</sup>

Entonce mostróle su cámara en que estava pintada la disciplina de las estrellas, e por que su padre e su madre gastaran más de

<sup>7</sup> This theme is also highlighted in the legend of George (see Chapter Four).

<sup>8</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastían*, 1.86-89.



dozientos quintales de oro, en esta cámara dizía lo que avía de venir. (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.87-90)

The secret prophecy chamber, richly decorated, represents the pinnacle of human achievement. It is not an idol to worship, but it contains the application of the most advanced astrological theory. Sebastian calls for its destruction because it symbolises trust in human knowledge and wealth. In dismantling it, Chromatius and his family relinquish any power over past and future, and are forced to undergo a radical change of mental perception. The effect of Sebastian's sermon is interpreted in literal terms at this point, allowing the saint to communicate his message by different means.

Sebastian's authority is also supported by the miraculous vision of Lucy (or Lucina in *La vida de Sant Savastían*), in which the whereabouts of his beaten body are disclosed:<sup>9</sup>

E fizo echar el su cuerpo en una privada por tal *que* lo non fallassen los *Christianos*, nin lo honrrassen como a mártir. E Sant Sevastían apareció otra noche a Santa Lucía e mostróle el su cuerpo, e mandóle que lo enterrasse a los pies de los apóstoles, e así lo fizo. (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.136-40)

Despite the efforts of the persecutors to dishonour and hide Sebastian's corpse, the saint appears in a dream to recover it so it may be buried in honour in pride of place near the apostles. Lucy herself is described as 'santa' for her role; she is a character upon whom grace is bestowed. The narrative gives no information regarding her background or subsequent actions.<sup>10</sup> From her passive position as recipient of the vision, she acts upon her knowledge and organises the burial. An underlying tension between

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<sup>9</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastían*, l.137-40.

<sup>10</sup> The figure of Lucy is not here traditionally identified with any of her namesakes. The virgin martyr Lucy has two cults, one of whom has a cult at Rome, the same setting for this narrative (see Beresford forthcoming). The virgin martyr Lucy had her eyes gouged out, which would make an interesting parallel to the centrality of vision to the figure of Lucy described here. However, there is no concrete evidence with which to substantiate such an identification.

martyrdom and cult is revealed here: although Sebastian chooses the annihilation of his body as a symbol and locus for his persecution and purification, it is precisely his physical remains that provide the focus for his cult.

However, Sebastian is not the only figurehead of sanctity in the legend; his companions in martyrdom share his glory. The narrative is incomplete in the sense that subsidiary characters such as the priest Polycarp are not assigned an end to their story. They cross the narrative thread and then disappear again. This gives them the transient feel of ciphers or symbols rather than rounded characters, and although the account is silent for some periods about Sebastian himself, it maintains the impression that these subsidiaries are not episodic digressions but relevant and important variations on themes perfected in Sebastian's later martyrdom.

To the faithful who heard or read the legend, the most important characters after Sebastian himself were the martyrs described. It is worth looking at them in chronological order, so that the pattern of cumulative variations upon the theme of holy death may be identified.

The first of the characters to submit to martyrdom is Zoë, wife of Nicostratus. There is an aptness to this, as she was the first to believe in Sebastian's sermon, and the first to make the connection between her sin and her inability to talk.<sup>11</sup> She is therefore rewarded with a cure and a vision of the saint's authority. Along with Lucy, she is one of only two characters to be recipients of visions within the frame of the principal narrative, which appears to identify visionary capacity with the feminine. However, the two posthumous miracles both record holy men as vehicles for this type of religious experience.

The depiction of Zoë's martyrdom, despite her important function as the herald of new belief, is perfunctory and precise:

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<sup>11</sup> This is a typological echo of the biblical story of Zechariah, father of John the Baptist, who is struck dumb when he questions an angelic message, and regains his speech upon his son's birth (Luke 1:8-25, 59-64). The communicative power of faith is a paramount aspect of both stories, although the notion of contrition is clearer in the story of Zoë.

E teniendo los gentiles a la  
muger sobredicha e atormen-  
tándola, murió e fuésse para  
paráyso. (*Sant Sebastián mártir*,  
l.102-03)

E Soe, la muger de Nicostrato,  
teniéndola presa los gentiles e  
atormentándola, salióle el *ánima*  
e fuése a paráyso. (*La vida de*  
*Sant Savastían*, l.103-04)

Unlike many other female *passiones*, the details of the tortures are not given, although this is unsurprising given that she is an ancillary rather than a central character.<sup>12</sup> However, this abrupt sentence opens a new section consisting of martyrdoms. Like her conversion, Zoë's appearance in the narrative heralds a change of emphasis in the depiction of Christianity. In the first instance, it began a series of conversions and penances; now, it begins the section of those ready to die for their faith.

The brevity of this passage provides a contrast with the longer conversions and martyrdoms of the male characters. The most noticeable difference is the lack of dialogue. Physically deprived of her voice before her conversion, Zoë is an object to be pitied, possibly reviled, as she makes it clear that her inability to speak is due to her own sin (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.59; *La vida de Sant Savastían*, l.61). The absence of her voice later casts her as an object to be first converted, then killed. In contrast, the male characters take on their pagan opponents in battles of words; they insult them, express their faith and happiness, and miraculously avoid pain or injury. This implies that the representation of sanctity between the minor female and male characters can vary. The male is able to use reason in order to express himself; the woman's participation as location or object is often enough to guarantee her salvation.

Tranquillinus, the father of Marcellian and Marcus, is the next character to be martyred, and this event is precipitated by Zoë's death. His reaction is ambiguous:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For example, the legends of Lucy, Agnes, Agatha, Juliana, and Christina, all of which give detailed torture scenes prior to martyrdom. For a discussion of the use of sexual allusions and imagery in the legend of Agnes, see Beresford (2007a: 45-68).

<sup>13</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastían*, l.104-07.

E oyéndolo Tranquilino, dixo: '¡Las mugeres se van ante nos a paráyso! E nos, ¿para qué bivimos?' E a pocos de días fue apedreado por amor de Jhesu Christo. (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.103-05)

Although details are not given of Zoë's martyrdom, and it appears passive and voiceless in comparison to other descriptions of death, Tranquillinus perceives it as a challenge from one gender to the other. To be left behind in life by the women suggests cowardice and dishonour. The peaceful allusions inherent in his name belie his bellicose attitude.

Tranquillinus, at this point, has already been described at an earlier point in the narrative (although no reminder is given in the Compilation B texts that he is the father of the twins). He is portrayed as an old man:<sup>14</sup>

Ahevos do traían en las manos los vassallos a su padre muy viejo, la cabeça llena de polvo e dando estas bozes *contra* el cielo  
(*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.22-24)

A man of some standing, Tranquillinus represents both decrepit power and mourning. His frailty impedes his walking unaided, and the dust in his hair suggests both the dust to which the body eventually decays. This gives him the deliberately impoverished appearance of a mourner and provides an echo of Genesis 3:19. The lament he pronounces for his sons is centred on the incomprehensibility of wishing for death before the natural end of life. By the time he is martyred, the narrative has put space between these two images of Tranquillinus, disconnecting them, although the power of his words remains a strong feature.

The deaths of Tiburtius (son of Chromatius) and Marcellian and Marcus (sons of Tranquillinus) become somewhat confused in the manuscripts. Tiburtius is given the choice of walking barefoot over burning coals or worshipping the idols.<sup>15</sup> After successfully completing the torture

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<sup>14</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastían*, l.22-24.

<sup>15</sup> The link between burning and sacrifice is one that has already occurred in the legend. Tiburtius threatens to burn Sebastian and Polycarp in ovens if they are unable to cure his father, Chromatius (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.95-96; *La vida de Sant Savastían*, l.94-96). As the

without any ill effects, which strikes the officer Fabian as sorcery, he commands the Roman not to blaspheme. With a confused order to cut a throat, the narrative turns to Marcellian and Marcus, now tied to stake and singing psalms. There is clearly a lacuna or error in the source at this point.<sup>16</sup> The multiplicity of characters is not merely difficult to follow for an audience, but also, it appears, for the copyist or hagiographer.

The deaths of Marcellian and Marcus prefigure Sebastian's martyrdom in that they are tied to a stake. They are then run through with lances. In response to the challenge of impending torture, they sing joyful psalms and, in a reflection of Sebastian's sermon material, affirm that happiness is to be found in death rather than life.

After the martyrdoms of Marcellian and Marcus, Sebastian is eventually tried and executed. He is taken to a field, tied to a stake, and shot full of arrows. Unlike the later visual representations, the narrative is far from erotic: 'finchiéronlo todo de saetas en manera que parescía erizo' (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.128-29).<sup>17</sup> However, the saint recovers in order to attempt to persuade the emperors of their wrongdoing (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.129-35). After this, he is beaten to death.

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cure is effected, they are saved from this fate. However, later it is Tiburtius himself who is made to walk over live coals and is also protected from harm. This establishes another image of *mundus inversus*, echoing the message of Sebastian's sermon.

<sup>16</sup> Only the *Vida de Sant Savastián* and BMP 9 are able both to resolve Tiburtius' martyrdom by decapitation, as well as that of the twins (l.115-16, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>). However, FLG 419 and Escorial K-II-12 leave the matter unclear and report that Fabian is angry and consequently orders the decapitation of the twins.

<sup>17</sup> The equivalent passage in *La vida de Sant Savastián* is: 'finchéronle todo de saetas en manera que tan espeso estava dellas como las espinas en el erizo' (l.128-29). An illustration from a French book of hours from the end of the fourteenth century (British Library, Additional MS 23145) is reproduced by Greg Buzwell in his book on depiction of saints in manuscript illumination (2006: 9) in which Sebastian, although naked apart from a loincloth, is pierced by seven arrows. The stylised wounds draw attention to the body and hint at the development of a trend of erotic representation of the saint, such as in works by Botticelli and Titian.

These representations of death are shaped to reflect the variation within the theme of *imitatio Christi* in its most fundamental form: martyrdom. The purpose of the characters in submitting to torture and death is to cleanse their souls from sin, which enables them to intercede for others. This suggests the functions that Christ performed. References to Christ's passion are common in accounts of martyrs and non-martyred saints. The martyrs in their sufferings echo the passion of Christ; ascetics, confessors and penitents are often characterised by self-inflicted suffering.<sup>18</sup> Qualities such as fortitude, humility, and patience are shared between the model (Christ) and the imitator (the saint). The act of worship that stems from contemplation of the legends lies in the satisfaction of both identifying these similarities and distinguishing the variations between them.

The reliance on typology and imitation goes some way towards explaining the strength of the resemblance between many hagiographic narratives. Gregory of Tours comments on this in his *Life of the Fathers* (James 1985: 28). In his preface, he argues that the word *vita* should be kept in the singular, rather than the plural, because of the saints' single origin and sustenance in Christ. As a consequence, saintly figures strive to be like him, while their biographers make a conscious effort to record their actions with reference to particular narrative conventions.

The saints, therefore, are often distinguished from their opponents by their faith. This is the case in the legend of Sebastian. The Christian paradox of life in death and death in life is one that divides the characters into those capable of understanding it, and those incapable of the intellectual and spiritual effort involved. The questions of the family of Marcellian and Marcus show this quite clearly. Their father asks: '¿por qué amades tanto la

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<sup>18</sup> For example, the various versions of the legend of Mary of Egypt circulating in medieval Castile depicted the heroine living in the wilderness at the mercy of the elements. She is discovered by Zosimas, a monk who enters the desert for the season of Lent, on a similar mission to mortify his flesh in imitation of Christ (Thompson & Walsh 1977: 7-8; but see also Matthew 4:1-11, Mark 1:12-13, and Luke 4:1-13).

muerte?’ (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, 1.27).<sup>19</sup> The matter is only resolved when Sebastian explains in his sermon. In this he resembles Christ, whose words were often met with surprise, as they also appeared to be against tradition and instinct.<sup>20</sup>

Typology is a necessary device in martyr hagiography, because it recalls the original narrative of the sufferings of Christ to the reader. The interest therefore lies in the variation of detail, rather than the outcome, as the conclusion always features death and glorious afterlife. What hagiography loses in the way of unpredictability it gains in the satisfactory fulfilment of the audience’s expectations, both in terms of plot and characterisation. The deaths of Zoë, Tranquillinus, Tiburtius, Marcellian, and Marcus mark a cumulative process, the pinnacle of which is Sebastian’s death, the saint who guided the rest to their own glory.

The multiple layers of the legend also invite the faithful to move from passive witness to active participation. This is key to the peripheral martyrdoms. News of Sebastian’s preaching and healing spreads from household to household, creating and confirming martyrs as it passes. Ostensibly, the narrative sets out to describe the life and death of Sebastian; however, it also provides a view into the lives of those touched by him.

The relationships that drive this sense of multiplicity are often defined by social position. The lord-vassal bond has already been noted. However, a second and equally significant pattern of establishing links is achieved by the use of the image of the family, and in particular the emotional bonds

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<sup>19</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastían*, 1.27.

<sup>20</sup> The idea that Christ rewrote the laws of the Old Testament in favour of a new law of redemption and love is central to Christianity. One example amongst many is the comparison between the Old Testament idea of exacting like-for-like justice (‘an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth’ paraphrased from Exodus 21:24, Leviticus 24:20 and Deuteronomy 19:21), and the New Testament concept of surrendering this desire for justice in favour of love and forgiveness (Matthew 5:38-39). This contrast with Judaism is a constant in Christian doctrine, in which Christians view Jewish beliefs and customs as dependent on law and identification with a chosen community, as opposed to the sense of inclusion typified by ceremonies and sacraments such as the Eucharist.

between parents and children on the one hand, and husbands and wives on the other.

After the introductory paragraph, the first rounded character to appear is the mother of Marcellian and Marcus, who vociferously attempts to dissuade them from their martyrdom. She does this by using a number of rhetorical devices and images (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.10-21, *La vida de Sant Savastián*, also l.10-21). For example, she makes extensive use of the *pre-adventum* or apotropaic lament (mourning those who are still alive), with symbolic gestures such as wearing her clothes in disarray and showing them her bared breast in an attempt to re-establish the maternal bond with her sons. As is the case with the king's lament for the princess in the legend of George, she demonstrates an incomplete understanding of life and death as explained by the Christian belief system. She bemoans her inability to rescue them:<sup>21</sup>

E sy por aventura los enemigos los levassen, yo yría entre ellos  
por medio de la hueste a arebatarlos. E aún sy los judgassen por  
fuerça a la muerte, yo, aunque sopiese morir, quebrantaría la  
cárcel. (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.13-16)

This violent speech, using imagery more typical of masculine spheres of action, is juxtaposed with her maternal image. It gives rise to a paradox in which femininity is expressed as motherhood, but motherhood forces a woman to take on aspects of strength and power usually reserved for masculinity.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, she uses a series of exclamations and rhetorical

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<sup>21</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.14-17.

<sup>22</sup> The image of the warring female alludes to the figure of the Amazon, a race of fighting women (Tyrrell 1984). However, where the Amazons were reputed to be a community of females whose sons were traditionally crippled and turned into slaves so that they could bring up only daughters, this character combines the aspects of the warrior with that of the strong and unconditional maternal instinct. Where the maternal usually evokes mildness, compassion, and subjection to a male figure, here it triggers an aggressive attitude. Her violent expression of the battle for life is reversed in her sons' later battle for death, where even when they are precisely in the grip of enemies, they sing psalms of joy and peace.



questions to express despair, incomprehension, and mourning. Marcellian and Marcus, although they are still alive, are unable to answer her questions, and at this point Sebastian steps in to explain and reassure.

After this, Tranquillinus, the father of the twins is brought to them, and adds his own lament to that of his wife (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, 1.22-31, *La vida de Sant Savastián*, 1.21-31).<sup>23</sup> An old man, his frailty underpins the hopelessness of his words. Images such as the staff and the light of his failing eyes used to describe his sons allude to the interdependence of his life and those of his children. He finishes by calling on a community of old men, to lament the sons that have died before them in an order that he perceives to be unnatural:<sup>24</sup>

E por que yo, desaventurado, despienda en el enterramiento de los mis fijos lo que tenía para mí. O fijos, blago de la mi vejez e lumbre de los mis ojos, ¿por qué amades tanto la muerte? Venid acá, viejos, llorad sobre estos mancebos que perescen de grado. Venid acá, los ancianos, e llorad conmigo sobre los mis fijos. (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, 1.25-29)

Tranquillinus is so dejected by the situation that he is unable even to contemplate the violent conditional retribution of his wife, who imagines the argument as a battle against enemies and speaks of her deeds as if they were real. Instead, he prepares to mourn in earnest.

The final stage of the lament begins as the wives of Marcellian and Marcus come to persuade them to give up their scheme. Their words are more accusatory than those of the parents:<sup>25</sup>

Vinieron las sus mugeres, e traían los fijos delante, llorando a grandes bozes e dizían: ‘¿A quién nos dexades, o quiénes serán señores destos infantes? ¿E quién partirá las vuestras heredades que vos avedes grandes? ¡O Dios, qué crueldat e qué crueles sodes! Ca despreciades el padre e la madre, que non dades nada

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<sup>23</sup> See Chapter Four, n16.

<sup>24</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastián*, 1.25-30.

<sup>25</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastián*, 1.32-38.

por ellos nin por las mugeres, e echades los fijos de vos, e ydes de grado a la muerte.' (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.32-38)

Their concerns are practical and personal ('¡qué crueles sodes!'). They reproach the twins for selfishness and disrespect. It is not clear which wife speaks, or to which of the twins she is married. This implies that it does not matter: these are characters that function as a collective protagonist in order to symbolise social duties.<sup>26</sup> As is the case with the mother, the wives represent externalised projections of the conflicts that are experienced by young, rich men who are facing martyrdom. When these tensions are resolved by rejecting these social concerns and duties, the characters are likewise rejected from the narrative.

The addresses of the father, mother, and wives are all made in a state of incomprehension.<sup>27</sup> They range from violence frustrated by a lack of an

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<sup>26</sup> The notion of a collective protagonist or identity does not diminish the strength of the argument. The two wives are as indistinguishable as their twin husbands. The actions of Marcellian and Marcus are as identical and synchronised as their appearances may be presumed to be. This, as seen above, recalls the discussion set out by Gregory of Tours.

<sup>27</sup> The legend of Alexis echoes analogous sentiments from analogous characters (Vega 1991: 87-96). On the discovery of his dead son, Alexis' father Euphemianus faints and tears his clothes, hair, and beard. He throws himself on the saint's body and says: 'Ay mi fijo, ¿por qué me fezistes tan grand pesar e tantos años me fezistes aver tantos dolores? Ay mesquino, ca veo agora al mi fijo que me devié ser consolación de mi vegez e agora veote yazer en el lecho e non me quieres fablar. Ay de mí viejo peccador ca ya de oy más non puedo aver ninguna consolación' (93-94). Next, the mother is described as 'assí como la leona que ronpe la red' in her rending of clothes (94). Her words, like those of the mother of Marcellian and Marcus, play on her frustrated motherhood: 'Varones, datme logar que pueda ver mi fijo e vea consolación de mi ánima que mamó las mis tetas [...] Ay mi fijo mucho amado, lunbre de los mis ojos, ¿por qué nos feziste esto? Veýes a tu padre a mí mesquina llorando e non te nos mostravas [...] ¿quiéñ dará a los mis ojos fuente de lágrimas por que llore de día e de noche el dolor de la mi ánima?' (94-95). Finally, Alexis' widow dresses in mourning like the 'tortolilla' to which she earlier compared herself (89), and laments: 'Ay mesquina, ca oy só desconsolada e biuda e ya non sé por quién cate nin en quién ponga los mis ojos. Agora es el mi sepulcro abierto e fallesce la mi sperança. De oy mas comiença el mi dolor que nunca avrá fin' (95). Despite the difference between the two families—Alexis' family is described as Christian, whereas

appropriate channel, to despair, anger, and accusation. These emotional responses are caused by a lack of understanding of the paradox concerning life and death that is at the heart of Christian thought. This is expressed with poignancy when Tranquillinus calls his sons the ‘lunbre de los mis ojos’, ironically highlighting the fact that he looks to his sons to light up his life, but is blind to the Christian truth when he contemplates them. His physical blindness forms a contrast with his refusal to accept spiritual enlightenment, as well as the visionary experiences of characters such as Zoë or Lucy later in the legend.

However, this failure to understand, combined with the depiction of their raw emotion, makes them human and rounded. Their grief sets the scene for one sort of love, that of the family, which will later be discarded when divine love supersedes it. The nature of close human relationships is irrelevant by the end of the legend. Marcus and Marcellian’s family is persuaded of the superiority of a relationship with the divine and they are baptised. No more is heard of them, with the exception of Tranquillinus. The function of the lament in this legend is to highlight and summarise the predicament of humanity, unable to reconcile life with death, and therefore the fallible nature of the protagonists. It is left behind when the characters fix their sights on spiritual life rather than earthly existence.

The curious posthumous miracle dealing with a young woman who has sexual intercourse with her new husband before attending a consecration seems also to point to this (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.141-54, *La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.141-52). Despite the minimal nature of the illegitimacy of their actions, the woman is punished by becoming vulnerable to possession by an evil spirit. The implication appears to be that divine reverence should assume primacy over physical or human love, and that family and friends

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that of Marcellian and Marcus are not baptized—the laments are strikingly similar. This is the result of conventional *topoi* such as the behaviour of mourning, such as rending clothes, crying, or fainting, and repeated phrases such as ‘lunbre de los ojos’ or ‘consolación de la vejez’. Although these are rhetorical conventions, this does not lessen the impact of either scene.

must always come second to God.

The inclusion of this miracle and another relating Sebastian's aid in a wave of a plague merits closer examination, particularly as they link the saint to the faithful who later venerate him in a more specific and detailed way than in the legends of George or Eustace. The first is taken from the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, and set in Tuscany, not far from the original cultic site of Sebastian near Rome (Boureau et al 2004: 1128). The woman's sin and punishment are described:<sup>28</sup>

E aquella noche ella cumplió su voluntad con su marido. E otro día de mañana fué para la iglesia, aviendo más vergüença de los omnes que de Dios. E luego que entró en la iglesia do eran las reliquias de Sant Sevastián, tomóla el diablo e enpeçóla atormentar muy fuertemente ante todos. (*Sant Sebastián mártir*, l.143-47)

In neglecting to keep her body pure before entering a church, she opens herself to attack from the devil. Her shame, which she had attempted to hide, is exposed in a humiliating and painful way. It also affects others, such as the chaplain who attempts to cover her with the altarcloth.

The only way to rid the woman of the tormenting demon is through the prayers of the bishop Fortunatus, reflecting Sebastian's prayers for Zoë and for Chromatius. However, her companions first take her to magicians in the hope that they will cure her, which increases the number of devils in her to 6,586.<sup>29</sup> This miracle emphasises the public correction of private sin, a theme that occurred earlier in the form of the recovery of Sebastian's body

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<sup>28</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.143-47.

<sup>29</sup> This number is given by FLG 419 and BMP 9. *La vida de Sant Savastián* gives 6,530, and Escorial K-II-12 reports 6,060. Jacobus de Voragine's text gives 'VI millia sexcenti et LXVI' (*De sancto Sebastiano*, l.164), recalling Revelation 13:18, in which 666 is the number of the beast, and also of its power over man. Given the loss of this allusion, it is likely that an error in transmission has occurred at some point in the construction of Compilation B, with only Escorial K-II-12, often the least reliable text, partially reproducing the figure. The other numbers have little symbolic resonances other than their high value.

from the sewer.

The final miracle is taken from Paul Diacre's *History of the Lombards* (Boureau et al 2004: 1127-28), a work written about Voragine's own region, and contemporary with his life. It gives the following gruesome picture of life struck by plague:<sup>30</sup>

E fallamos en las corónicas de los Lonbardos *que en el tiempo del rey Unberto, en toda Ytalia avía una pestilencia de muerte que non podían complir a enterrar los omnes; mas mayormente era esta pestilencia en Roma e en Papia. E apareció entonce el ángel de Dios a muchos, e mandó al diablo que le siguiese, e levava en la mano un venablo con que firía e matava. E quantas vegadas firió en alguna cosa, tantos omnes matava. (Sant Sebastián mártir, l.155-61)*

In such a time of national crisis, plague is attributed to divine anger, with death decided by an angel giving the devil permission to carry off lives. It is finally eradicated by the fulfilment of a vision (the fourth in the narrative) decreeing that an altar to Sebastian must be built in the Pavia in the church dedicated to Peter in Chains.

This miracle has a number of functions. First, it legitimates Sebastian's divine authority and thereby his legend. Second, it records the translation of the saint's relics and justifies the shrine to him at Pavia. The act of preserving and maintaining Sebastian's reputation as a conduit of supreme divine power has a local importance, as well as a wider impact on the Christian community.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> See also *La vida de Sant Savastián*, l.153-58.

<sup>31</sup> It also had a particular resonance for the Reconquista in the Iberian Peninsula, in which *translationes* were a common feature of the disputed landscape. This has been noted by Walsh & Thompson with reference to Saint Toribius (1987), in which the translation of relics is depicted as a process that confirms the new location as legitimate and auspicious. See also Burshatin (1990) on the use of the image of the movement or opening of a Holy Ark or reliquary as a motif in narratives of reconquest, and Angenendt(2002) for a more general overview.

The significance of Sebastian's power as an intercessor is of some interest. George and Eustace are two of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, and occasionally Sebastian would replace one of the other twelve to join them.<sup>32</sup> These were potent sources of divine grace, dynamic both in life and afterlife. Their cult became particularly popular in times of plague or other crisis, as all are strong, active figures.

The legend of Sebastian has wide-ranging consequences. It is, in purely doctrinal terms, a sound exposition of doctrine through a sermon and an account of a *passio*. However, a large number of secondary characters imply a multiplicity of different voices, and their narratives combine with and sometimes obscure the life of Sebastian himself. The text is therefore rich and complex.

The emphasis on Sebastian's relationship with other characters, including those born long after his earthly lifetime had passed, and of his narrative with those of others, is part of the legend's appeal. Rather than appearing austere, as his posthumous miracles in particular would suggest, the composer of the text has developed the legend from very little historically verifiable material into a vehicle that is more able to engage with the life of the audience. Amongst the multiple voices that come out of Sebastian's legend, and the range of responses they provoke from the saint, there is likely to be something edifying for any member of the Christian community.

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<sup>32</sup> See Farmer (2003: 202). He names them as Acacius, Barbara, Blaise, Catherine of Alexandria, Christopher, Cyricus, Denys, Erasmus, Eustace, George, Giles, Margaret of Antioch, Pantaleon and Vitus, and that on occasion one of these saints was substituted by Anthony of Egypt, Leonard, Nicholas, Sebastian, or Roch.

## Chapter Six

### Saint Eustace: Symbolism and Typology

The legend of Saint Eustace—or Placidus, to identify him by his pre-baptismal name—is one of the most intriguing examples of hagiography ever written. Part of the reason for this is that it is based on a figure for whom there is almost no historical evidence. Given this background, the legend is perhaps fictitious by necessity. Consequently, the construction of the narrative, the allusions it makes, and the message it appears to impart are all coloured by hagiographic imagination and scribal intent. In this context, questions of meaning become vital, because although the Eustace legend is part of a dialogue with other texts, it is also a product of images charged with pre-existing symbolism. In this chapter I examine the symbolism in the legend and look at its function as both part of a tradition of typology and as a resonant intertext with secular works.

Although the narrative of Saint Eustace is only found in one text of Compilation B, this is probably due more to coincidence than a lack of popularity. Three of the six possible manuscripts, BMP 8, Escorial M-II-6, and Escorial K-II-12 do not reproduce the later texts from Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, in which the legend would have been transmitted. The others, BMP 9 and FLG 419, cover the section of the source text, but either deliberately leave Eustace out, or, more likely, originate from an intermediary text that had not included it. On the other hand, its presence in two manuscripts of Compilation A, and the far more select Escorial h-I-13, show that it was by no means unknown in the period.<sup>1</sup>

The manuscript testimony to Saint Eustace in Compilation B, Escorial h-I-14, is key to an understanding of the function of symbolism in the

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<sup>1</sup> In Compilation A the legend can be found in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid 12689 (fols 89<sup>vb</sup>-93<sup>ra</sup>) and Escorial h-II-18 (fols 145<sup>vb</sup>-148<sup>vb</sup>). The version in Escorial h-I-13 (fols 23<sup>va</sup>-32<sup>ra</sup>) has been edited by Walker (1982).

legend. As discussed in Chapter Three, the producer of the manuscript was ambitious and imaginative. The texts are often embellished with details and added emphases. Consequently, a view of Saint Eustace in Compilation B may be distorted by colourful representations that go beyond the Latin source. Therefore, the symbolism may be heightened.

An appropriate starting point to examine the symbolism in the text is Eustace's first meeting with the stag, where he has his first contact with the message of Christianity (Heffernan 1975: 69). The stag is by no means a lone representative of the animal world in the legend, although it is probably the most impressive and mystical:<sup>2</sup>

E un día, yendo acá, falló una manada de ciervos, entre los quales vio uno mayor e más fermoso *que* todos los otros, e saltó en una ysla muy grande. E los otros cavalleros, yendo en pos dellos, Plácido començó a yr en pos éste *quanto* él podía, e confortávase *para* tomarle. E siguiéndole *con* toda su fuerça, el ciervo saltó en somo de una peña, e allegándose Plácido, pensava en su coraçon *quánto* él podié por tomarlo. E él parando mientes al ciervo vio entre sus cuernos la forma de la Vera Cruz, más clara *que* el sol. E en ella la ymagen de la Vera Cruz de Jhesu Christo. E fabló por la boca del ciervo, así como otro *tiempo* fablara por la boca del asna, diziendo: 'Plácido, ¿por *qué* me sigues? Ca por amor de ti aparescí en esta bestia. Ca yo só Jhesu Christo, a *quién* tú onrras *non* me conociendo, ca las tus elimosnas subieron ante mí. E por esto vin acá, *que* tú caças este ciervo, *que* yo caçase a ti.' (*La vida de Sant Eustachio*, 1.7-20)

The stag is a literal and symbolic vehicle through which Christ operates. A desire to chase this most elusive animal foreshadows Eustace's sense of quality and priority. In contrast to the rest of the riders, he risks returning empty-handed for a chance to take the best stag. The symbolism is obvious: Eustace, who the legend has already said deserves enlightenment, perceives the inherent attractiveness of Christianity and of pursuing the path it takes.

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<sup>2</sup> All citations from the Castilian tradition are from this edition, and can be found in Appendix 1; henceforth they will be cited only by line number. The Latin text, *De sancto Eustachio*, is included as Appendix 3.



More intriguing is the precise way in which the stag is the vehicle for Christ. At the highest point of the mountain, Eustace sees that the antlers carry an image of the holy cross. However, the stag is no mere carrier: Christ speaks to Eustace through the mouth of the deer, with a reference to the Old Testament story of Balaam establishing further typological links that will continue to underpin the narrative throughout.<sup>3</sup>

With Christ's words, the confusing nature of the relationship between the stag and its divine visitor is both made clear and deliberately muddled. Christ explains that the stag is part of the strategy that will eventually lead to Eustace's martyrdom and subsequent glory, but uses the device of *mundus inversus*. The hunter becomes the hunted in a chase where identities and purposes are suddenly inverted. Eustace can no longer be sure of himself or of the meaning of his life. This is the first stage of a complete reconstruction of his identity. This includes a new faith, a new name, and a comparison to Job. The stag was not what it appeared; but neither, it seems, is Eustace.

Further to the symbolism of the stag, inherently equivocal in itself, the hunt may also have a number of allegorical meanings. Discussing the Castilian *romance*, Edith Randam Rogers identified a number of images that the hunt can signify. It is often a locus or pretext for meetings, courtship, infidelity at home, and ill-luck or even death (1980: 6-40). Setting aside the motif of the unattended and unfaithful wife at home, it is clear that the other meanings of the hunt are implicit here. An encounter with an elusive animal proves to be an unforeseen meeting with a supernatural force. Courtship has a spiritual rather than a sexual aim. The tradition of ill-luck and death are indeed consequences of the hunt, but the Christian perspective turns both of these motifs into positive experiences rather than omens of evil. This scene demonstrates that hagiographic and secular literatures share a vocabulary of metaphor. However, the allusions of the legend may only be interpreted to a certain point. The deeper significance rests in the paradox of death in life that characterises Christian faith. Rogers' 'unlucky hunt' motif

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<sup>3</sup> See Numbers 22:21-34. An analogous episode may be found in the legend of Saint Antoninus (Escorial K-II-12 fols 184<sup>ra</sup>-87<sup>va</sup>, Escorial h-I-14 fols 241<sup>vb</sup>-45<sup>rb</sup>).

(1980: 27) is inverted to herald Eustace's extreme bad luck in secular terms, but also the reward of heaven.

Animal protagonists appear for the second time after Eustace has fled his poverty in Rome and lost his wife to a lecherous sailor. He is put ashore in a wild country and ponders how to cross a river with two young children:

dexando el uno cerca la ribera del río, vino un lobo apresurado e arrebató el niño *que* dexara, e fué con él a los montes. E Eustachio, espantado desto, yvase apriesa tras el lobo, e dexó el otro niño. E yéndose, vino un león e arrebató el otro niño e fué con él. (1.84-88)

Helplessly marooned in the middle of the river, Eustace finds himself in a liminal no-man's-land, surrounded by what appears to be certain death. The impossible task of rescuing two children who have been borne in opposite directions by wild and dangerous beasts occasions despair. However, the kidnappings are part of the divine plan to test the saint's forbearance, recasting him as Job, and the boys are saved from real harm:

E viendo unos pastores *que* el león levava el niño, siguiéronle con los canes, e ordenándolo *Nuestro* Señor, el león dexó el niño e fué. E unos labradores, dando bozes en pos el lobo, sacáronle el niño de la boca sano e guarido. (1.91-94)

Unbeknownst to their father, they grow up amongst the shepherds and labourers. Once again, wild animals are portrayed fulfilling a design that is on a different level, their instincts overridden by implicit divine intervention.

The third and final episode involving animals takes place when the family face the consequences of their refusal to sacrifice to the pagan gods of Rome. The first attempt at martyrdom is unsuccessful:

Estonces el enperador muy sañudo pesóle, e mandóle levar a él e a su muger e a sus fijos a un arenal, e fizo enbiar contra ellos un león muy cruel. E el león fue, la cabeça corvada contra ellos, e non les fizo mal. (1.213-16)

The image of the Christians thrown to savage lions is transformed into another common motif of hagiography, that of the lion showing the apt humility and reverence before sanctity. Like the first lion, the animal

behaves against instinct. Its tame and humble behaviour is ambiguous; either a miracle prevents it harming the family, or it somehow perceives holiness despite its bestial nature.

It is clear that the animals in the legend of Eustace are not merely animals, nor do they perform a purely narrative function. Nor are they vacant agents of divine power, puppets controlled by higher authority. Each of them comes from a rich background of animal lore from traditions as diverse as contemporary bestiaries, popular lyric and fable, romance, and other examples of hagiography.<sup>4</sup> Each of these animals has a powerful symbolism of its own.

The medieval Castilian translation of the bestiary found in Brunetto Latini's *Livres dou tresor* notes several points of interest about the stag (Baldwin 1989: 86-87; ch. 183). It states that it has many qualities linked with healing and renewal. It is said never to suffer fever, so that eating its flesh can safeguard against falling ill. It possesses a bone in its heart that has medicinal properties. When wounded by arrows, it is able to locate a herb (dittany) that helps it heal. When it feels ill or old, it eats a snake and drinks water. The poison helps it moult its antlers and coat, by which means the stag is rejuvenated. For this reason it is associated with long life and health.

Although the medieval Castilian bestiary is resolutely opposed to allegorical or moralising interpretations, these medicinal and refreshing connotations have a strong impact on the legend of Eustace. The animal literally leads him to the spiritual benefit of conversion. For Christians, baptism is the beginning of a new life; the stag is part of the gateway to this renewal. Where the stag is reputed to possess knowledge of how to keep itself physically healthy and young, here it provides the saint with an opportunity to do the same for his soul.

Another key point that the bestiary makes about the stag is its mortal battle with the serpent. These two creatures are supposed to be enemies, and the stag is reputed actively to draw snakes out of their lairs in order to

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<sup>4</sup> Studies on the wider tradition of animal symbolism in Castilian include Baños Vallejo on prose hagiography (1994) and Blay Manzanera & Severin on *La Celestina* (1999).

kill them. In this legend, it is surely no accident that Christ chooses the stag through which to offer Eustace salvation, the sworn enemy of the serpent, so often representative of evil from Genesis onwards (3:1-5).

A specifically biblical interpretation is, then, a valid reading of the stag. However, there is other symbolism at work. According to the bestiary, it also symbolises sexual prowess, prone to 'luxuria' when the female is in season (1989: 86). This recalls Rogers' analysis of the hunt as an allusion to the pursuit of a lover in secular literature (1980: 16). The traditional lyric, for example, can be interpreted in this way, as can some ballads.<sup>5</sup> Yet the hunt, a proof of virility, is something at which Eustace excels. Therefore, the borrowing between genres manifested in the portrayal of animal protagonists, coupled with the hunt motif, imply fundamental sexual overtones that make the narrative both more exciting and more ambiguous.

Like the stag, both the lion and the wolf are dangerous beasts, and where they abduct Eustace's young children, their behaviour is in keeping with the instincts expected of wild and hungry animals. Lions have a rich and complex symbolic tradition and are subject of many folkloric tales and fables. The Castilian bestiary observes that the lion has royal qualities and marks the equivalent status amongst animals as kingship does in humans (Baldwin 1989: 83-84; ch. 174). It also remarks on the function of fear concerning lions. They cause all other animals to fear them because of their ferocity, strength, and majesty. The relationship with man is somewhat different:

& maguer que el leon sea de grant coraçon & de cruel manera,  
viene a ser amigo del onbre & mora muy de buena mente cerca  
del, & nunca faze mal al onbre si el non lo faze primeramente a el

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<sup>5</sup> For an analysis of the motifs of the hunt and the deer or stag in the poetry of Pero Meogo, see Deyermond 1979-80. Other ballads that follow this pattern of imagery include 'Tres hijuelos había el rey', in which Lancelot attempts to capture an enchanted and unlucky stag as a wedding gift, 'Rico Franco', in which an unlucky hunt prefigures abduction and murder, 'Blanca Niña', in which an adulteress' husband returns from a hunt to find her with another lover, and 'La Infantina', in which an unlucky hunt leads to a missed opportunity (Smith 1996: 114-15, 119-22, 126-27).

mal. Et es muy grant maravilla de la piedat que en el es, que quando es sañudo & de peor talante contra el onbre, entonce le perdona el mas ayna si se echa a sus pies a demandarle merçet.  
(1.83)

The lion has a relationship with man that is at least dependent on mutual respect, and at best, symbiotic. Isidore of Seville, later taken on in other medieval bestiary traditions such as that by Philippe de Thaün, also noted that the lion is peaceful with man, identifying this behaviour with the humility of strength, as also shown by Christ in crucifixion. The implication is that the pinnacle of animal creation, the lion, and the pinnacle of human society recognise one another as dignified figures.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, as though according to the rules of chivalry, the bestiary says that lions do not harm women or children, but only men. This is echoed here, as the real harm is not to Eustace's son, but takes the form of mental torment for the saint himself.

The birthing habits of lions are also of interest. The unborn cubs' teeth and claws cause the mother to be ill in pregnancy. Furthermore, when birth is reached, the process is so traumatic that the cubs lie for three days without moving, as though they are dead. At the end of this period of time, their father comes to them, and they revive by taking on his nature and rising. The writer of the Castilian bestiary does not comment on the obvious parallels with the human state of sin (unlike others in the tradition; see Kordecki 1996). The dangerous and painful process of conception and pregnancy recalls Eve's punishment for the original sin in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 3:16). Furthermore, the cubs' existence in a state between life and death for three days echoes the period that Christ spent in the tomb. For these reasons, lions are seen as one of the closest animal equivalents to humans, and are also a symbol of Christ and his resurrection. Also for this reason, they are often representative of liminal spaces, both occupying them and guarding them, an example being the thirteenth-century sanctuary door

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<sup>6</sup> A further parallel with the lion as a noble and respected animal can be seen in fable literature. See Salisbury (1996).

knocker at Durham Cathedral.

The status means that lions are a commonplace in hagiography. For example, according to the medieval legend of Jerome, the saint is depicted with a lion, from whose paw he is supposed to have removed a thorn. Continuing the theme of asceticism, another two lions appear in the legend of Paul of Thebes. This image is repeated in the account of Mary of Egypt, in which a lion helps the monk Zozimus bury Mary.<sup>7</sup>

However, this is also a commonplace in martyrdom narratives, from the book of Daniel in the Old Testament, through to frequent miracles based on attempted or actual martyrdoms in the great Roman persecutions of the early Church. The second appearance of the lion here is a classic example. The hungry beast backs away from Saint Eustace and his family, bowing its head in an act of reverence. Fernando Baños Vallejo observes the double depiction of the lion in this case. Where the lion refuses to harm the Christians, it represents a force of nature that is subject only to divine power (1994: 141). Where it does effect a martyrdom, it becomes sanctified as a means of consecration. Such a holy status reminds one of its Christ-like symbolism once more.

To return to the lions present in the medieval Castilian legend of Eustace, it is clear that all of these complex currents are at work. The lions are indeed subject to a higher power than human understanding can grasp, as both appear to be fierce, but neither causes actual harm. In fact, the second lion shows the utmost reverence for the sanctity it perceives. The first lion, abducting the child, puts it safely down when pursued by shepherds and their domesticated guard dogs. In effect, divine intervention delivers the child back into the hands of a society where animals are ruled and trained by people, and not overruled by the instincts of wild beasts.

This leaves the wolf, which must be regarded in conjunction with the lion, as their roles are played in parallel. However, the wolf is a much less

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<sup>7</sup> The legend of Paul of Thebes in Castilian is testified by two Compilation A texts, Escorial h-III-22 (fols 95<sup>vb</sup>-102<sup>vb</sup>) and Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid 12688 (fols 190<sup>va</sup>-197<sup>tb</sup>). For a version in Latin, see Graesse (1846: 94-95).

positive character, and its association with the lion in this case lends it ambiguity. Unlike lions, many of those in Western Europe who knew the legend of Eustace would have had some experience of wolves (Baldwin 1989: 90-91; ch. 190). The medieval Castilian bestiary tradition notes the strength of its jaws, teeth, and eyesight, and the shepherding belief that it is able to gather sustenance from flora, stolen meat, and even the wind. Uncontrolled violence and an uncritical attitude towards food and mating is also implicit in the lore that a female wolf will take the ugliest and most fierce male as her sexual partner.<sup>8</sup> Further widening the gap between wolf and man is the unintelligent instinct that causes it to be easily distracted and forgetful of what it was previously doing.

The traditional enmity between shepherds and wolves is relevant at this point. It has strong allegorical links to the image of Christ as the sacrificial lamb (Tooley 1964). Wolves steal sheep; if Christ is the lamb, the wolf represents an enemy of Christ who interferes in the domesticated and sophisticated world of farming, bringing violence with it (Salisbury 1996: 55-56). For this reason, other bestiary traditions see the wolf as representative of the devil.<sup>9</sup> The role of the shepherd therefore becomes key in the struggle between good and evil. The fact that one of Eustace's sons is raised by shepherds, and that Eustace himself works as one for the years of his poverty, appears not to be an accident; rather, it is an extension of this metaphor.

The relationship between man and wolf, then, is one of enmity and fear. The Castilian bestiary remarks that if a wolf sees a human before he is seen, it is rooted to the spot in fear. It also mentions a precious stone that is

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<sup>8</sup> The she-wolf, *lupa*, is also linked to prostitution, as evidenced in the word for brothel, *lupanar*. See also White (1954: 56) for an explicit analogue in the English bestiary tradition.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Cambridge University Library II.4.26, edited and translated by White (1954: 56-61), which states that 'the devil bears the similitude of a wolf: he who is always looking over the human race with his evil eye, and darkly prowling round the sheepfolds of the faithful so that he may afflict and ruin their souls' (59).

found in the wolf's body, which the animal knows about. The desire to stop man reaching this stone causes it to cover its own droppings. In short, the relationship between wolf and man is characterised by mutual distrust. This is further nuanced by the tradition from classical antiquity onwards that marked the wolf as a chthonic guide or escort for the dead, taking souls to Hades, and consequently shunned by human society.<sup>10</sup>

However, the wolf's knowledge of the underworld and the dead makes it ambiguous in Christian hagiography, in which martyrs and ascetics yearn for death as a means to paradise. This makes the wolf's role a partially positive one, which is precisely what occurs in the legend of Paul of Thebes. Although its savagery is shunned by human society, the wolf's function as guide for the dead is necessary and even laudable. Its abduction of the child in the legend of Eustace plays the saint's despair against its function as guide to the afterlife. In the structure of the narrative, this symbol of life in death is perfectly represented by the setting of the river, alluding to baptism and Eustace's rebirth now that he has lost everything material or familiar that he had possessed.

The narrative and symbolic functions of animals in the legend of Saint Eustace are relevant not only to the conduct of the beasts, but also some of the human characters. Although the audience is invited to make a moral judgement of the animals and to interpret this in the light of the saint at the heart of the narrative, such an invitation also encourages a similar judgement of the human counterparts.

The wolf, as the most widely shunned of the animal participants, is a valid starting point. The first lion and the wolf complete a process of social descent and financial and emotional loss that began much earlier. However, when the other components of Eustace's progression are analysed, shady characters appear that have much in common with the wolf. Upon baptism, fortunes turn almost immediately. Eustace's men and animals die, followed by all of his vassals and livestock. Robbery follows:

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<sup>10</sup> For an overview of the development of the symbolism surrounding the wolf as chthonic guide in classical antiquity, see Kunstler (1991).



E un día omnes malos, viendo la su pérdida, vinieron de noche a su casa e robaron cuánto y fallaron. E despojaron toda la su casa de oro e de plata e de todas las otras cosas. (1.63-65)

Like wolves, wicked men prey on Eustace's weaknesses, attacking at night. They are indiscriminate, violent, efficient, and prone to steal. They play a very similar part in Eustace's descent to that of the wolf and lion at a later stage.

These men are joined by another character, also a device in Eustace's process of unhappiness. This is the sea-captain, to whom Eustace's wife is left in exchange for the life of the saint and his two children:

E la muger de Eustachio era muy fermosa, e viniendo el señor de la nave, deseávala mucho aver. E después *que* vinieron al puerto, demandávala el marinero su trabajo, e *non* aviendo de donde ge lo dar, mandó el señor *que* le tomasen la muger por el prescio de la nave, *queriéndola* aver *para* sí. E viéndolo Eustachio, *non* lo *querié* consentir en ninguna manera, refertando muy grant hora sobrello. E el señor de la nave fazié de los ojos a los suyos *que* le echasen en el mar, e así podrié aver a su muger. E entendiendo Eustachio lo *que* le *querién* fazer, enpero *que* estava muy triste, dexóles la muger. E tomó dos fijos suyos gemiendo e diziendo: '¡Ay por mí e por vos, ca *vuestra* madre es dada a marido extraño!' (1.72-82)

As the bestiary tradition demonstrated, the wolf is characterised by its uncontrolled and violent sexual impulses. Here, the sailor is subject to the same instincts, and is ready to commit rape and murder.<sup>11</sup>

When Eustace's younger son is abducted by the wolf, it is almost expected. This is a repetition with variation, spanning human and animal characteristics. Wolf-like behaviour is apparent in robbery, giving in to sexual urges, and abducting children for food. These modes of behaviour

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<sup>11</sup> An analogue to this episode, although with different degrees of consent, is that of Mary of Egypt attempting to gain a passage from Alexandria to Jerusalem aboard a ship. See Thompson & Walsh (1977: 15) and Walker (1977: 7-8) for two traditions of the passage in Castilian.

blur the boundaries between human and animal.

However, there is an essential element of ambiguity in the behaviour of the robbers, sailors, lion, and wolf. Contrary to expectation, none of them cause lasting harm. By giving in to their base instincts, and then undermining expectations, dramatic tension is built up through the legend.

This ambiguity raises the figure of the lion once more. As discussed above, the lion can be both the apex of bestial creation, and an equivalent to kingship. The second lion implies a comparison with its human counterpart, the emperor. Hadrian's response to the saint and his family is one of anger and dissatisfaction when he is unable to bend them to his will. He sends them to the amphitheatre to be put to the cruel and ferocious lions. However, his rage contrasts with the humility and reverence shown by the lion. This suggests that even the animal world, with its dependence on physical instincts, has a clearer perception of sanctity than those who refuse to partake of Christianity. The bestiary tradition saw lion and man treat one another with respect. Here the emperor recalls the wolf rather than the king of the beasts.

This implies a final consideration of the stag. Here, the boundary between animal, human, and divine is blurred as the stag carries both a divine mission and a divine being. Marked out by its beauty and size, it is a mouthpiece for Christ. It guides Eustace to his divine interlocutor. Interpreting the stag in this way suggests that every character in the legend, human or animal, is in some way a guide. The stag moves Eustace through space to reach a mountain-top, and his state of mind and spirituality later echo this movement by reaching for a life in paradise. The wolf, the chthonic guide in classical mythology, is an animal reputed to have special knowledge of worlds hidden to human perception, particularly the underworld. It, along with the lion, leads Eustace to a state of such despair that he contemplates suicide. This marks a movement towards a mental underworld, although it later transpires that the saint's understanding of the situation was incomplete.

In the first half of the legend, then, Eustace undergoes a downwards social and emotional process that is heralded by his encounter with Christ,

but is marked by both human and animal guides. Only when he has reached a state of mental torture and loss can he begin to rebuild his life and look towards reunion and return, culminating in the higher glory of martyrdom. Part of this upwards trajectory includes the episode in which his sanctity is recognised by the lion in the amphitheatre. Here the guide is not for Eustace but for the onlookers, both intertextual and extratextual.

However, this does not fully answer the question of a human counterpart to the stag. There is some blurring of Christ and the animal, and although there is clearly symbolism from traditional lore about stags that links the two figures, this is not a true counterpart to Christ. No character could fulfil this function without approaching blasphemy.

The stag, in its role of guide for Eustace towards the Christ that he bears between his antlers, may fruitfully be read as a prefiguration of Eustace himself at the end of the narrative.<sup>12</sup> By the end of narrative, he will have become a vehicle to display Christ's power in the world in his martyrdom. Through later dissemination of his legend, he will also become a guide for others to reach Christ.

However, Eustace's transformation to this position of sanctity takes place through a constant process of testing, and his faith is required to develop and intensify over the course of the narrative. This is shown by his initial potential, as he performs good works and therefore deserves his conversion: 'e porque fazían obras de piedat, meresció de ser alunbrado en las carreras de verdat' (l.6-7). The imagery of light introduced here is a recurrent and complex symbolic language throughout the narrative. From this starting point, his faith is the most important aspect of his portrayal, but only one of a number of elements that characterise him.

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<sup>12</sup> For a reinterpretation of this episode in an analogous reading of the function of the stag in the *Poema de Fernán González*, in which Fernando is guided to the tomb of Pelayo by a boar that he is hunting, Keller (1955) argues that this draws heavily on the legend of Eustace, and provides an intermediary between the hagiographic account and the *Caballero Zifar*. A similarly legitimising episode is found in the *Mocedades de Rodrigo* (Deyermund 1968: 83-92).

Eustace is also defined by his military role, which is by far the most important of the three saints discussed here. He is a '*maestro de la cavallería*' (1.2), a term denoting the complete control of horsepower and the elite fighters, as well as an implicit good standing at court. The subsequent search for him is motivated by Rome's need of its accomplished general. He also, unlike George or Sebastian, takes up his old warlike habits after converting to Christianity. Eustace returns to lead his armies successfully, reconciling his violent and tactical profession with his gentler religious impulses. Soldiering, therefore, is an ambiguous act. Its implicit reliance on violence is not necessarily contradictory to being a saint. However, it is also an unacceptable primary motivation. Eustace returns to it because he is needed by his peers.

The vocabulary of fighting is a constant feature in all three legends. The historical words of each saint have been lost (if they were ever uttered), and the dialogue has therefore been shaped to reflect a particular military character. Eustace's first lament is for the loneliness he feels without his soldiering companions, which is then followed by one for his family:

¡Ay mezquino, yo *que* solía aver muchos cavalleros enderredor de mí, agora finco solo e desanparado, e aun non fincó un fijo comigo! (1.97-99)

Although his sons are young and only able to afford him symbolic solidarity rather than physical protection, he views the loss of his family in the same terms as the loss of his forces to command.

Eustace's role as military man becomes important again at a point when his family has been torn apart and he is earning a pittance guarding sheep. Rome is attacked by enemies and remembers its former general:

E acordándose de Plácido, como lidiava *contra* estos enemigos muchas vegadas, eran muy tristes por tanta desonrra aquí fuera mudado. E enbió el enperador muchos cavalleros por todo el mundo, prometiéndoles muchas onrras e muchas riquezas a *aquéllos que* lo fallasen. (1.113-17)

Despite the changes wrought upon him by age and poverty, he is recognised by his former colleagues by a scar received in battle (1.135-38). His identity

as a soldier is literally engraved on to his physical appearance. This narrative is full of typological echoes with the story of Job, but this recognition scene alludes to the reappearance of Christ to the disciples after the Resurrection as doubts are allayed by an examination of the scars of crucifixion (John 20:25-28). Through this image the scene effects a structural bond between the main narrative and the ensuing martyrdom. Furthermore, the identification as a soldier further links the martyr to the concept of the *miles Christi*.

Eustace is not merely a military man. His family, as suggested by the citation above, is of great importance to him. The main body of the account consists of his separation from them, and their eventual reunion. Viewed in this way, it is worthless to interpret the saint in isolation from his family. His wife, in particular, is a sympathetic character and the most fully drawn of all of the female protagonists in the three legends. However, like other female characters, her role is framed by her male protector and counterpart. She is depicted as an intelligent and resourceful woman. Unlike Eustace, she does not give up hope of finding her sons alive again:

‘E entonces dixo su muger: “Señor, ¿dó están *nuestros* hijos?” E díxole él: “Las bestias los comieron.” E díxole él en *qué* manera los perdiera. E dixo ella: “Demos *gracias* a Dios, ca creo *que* así como Dios *quiso que* nos fallásemos yo e tú, ¡así *querrá que* conoscamos *nuestros* hijos!” E respuso él: “¿*Non* te dixe *que* las bestias los comieran?” E díxole ella: “Ayer, estando en la huerta, oý a dos mancebos *que* contavan toda su fazienda en esta manera, e sospeché *que* eran *nuestros* hijos. E por ende preguntales, e dezírtelo han”’ (l.193-200).

Faith, loyalty to her husband, and maternal instincts are her three main characteristics. They also represent her three main functions in the text. She hopes to find her children, and in this way overrides her belief in her husband’s explanation. The narrative contrasts her emotional nature as a mother with Eustace’s logical hypothesis of the boys’ fate. This scene may be read as a conflict between reason and instinct, and by earthly criteria, Eustace demonstrates a higher form of thought. However, the conflict is

actually between the human power of reason and faith in divine providence. As a consequence, Eustace's wife is not only correct, but less prone to the despair that affects her husband.

There appears to be little disparity between Eustace's spiritual merit and that of his wife. The crucial difference between the two is that Eustace is chosen to be the focus of the story. Although active herself, and not objectified by her husband, she provides a uniquely feminine foil—as wife and mother—to his journey, rather than being the focus of it with him. This is illustrated by the means by which she is prepared for his conversion. While Eustace encounters Christ and converses with him at some length, his wife receives a shorter and more cryptic divine message in a dream:

E viniendo a su casa e contando esto a su muger en el lecho, ella llamando a grandes bozes, dixo: 'Mi señor, yo lo oý en la otra noche e me dixo: "Cras verrás a mí tú e tu marido e tus fijos". E agora lo conosco: *que él es Jhesu Christo.*' (l.37-40)

Although the message makes little sense to her, she can do nothing to consolidate it without her husband's conversion. Their intimate evening conversation, possible only through the fact of their marriage, allows her to understand and support her husband.

Eustace's wife, therefore, fulfils a number of functions. First, she reflects and reinforces the processes and morals that underlie Eustace's progress in a way that reflects her femininity, playing an active role at a number of crucial points in the narrative.<sup>13</sup> Second, although she is a

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<sup>13</sup> With reference to her depiction in Escorial h-I-13, which he terms *El Libro de los Huéspedes*, John K. Moore argues that 'the translators and compilers of the *Libro de los Huéspedes* amplified the French source of *Placidus* to increase the importance of Placidus's wife, Teospita, whose heightened significance is not to be found in other versions of the tale' (2008: xx). It appears that the sympathetic portrayal of Eustace's wife is a particularly Castilian feature of the text's development, and although it is brought to a new level in Escorial h-I-13, it is also visible in Compilation B. For Moore, the codex is unified by the a series of motifs, one of which is the wise woman or calumniated wife, often forced into exile. This theme permits a fluidity between hagiography and romance which would otherwise be incongruous (2008: XIX-XXIII).

valuable companion, she is also an object that is lost and recovered. Her disappearance from and re-entry into the narrative echoes the social fall and rise that Eustace experiences. Although a fully drawn character in her own right, her presence or absence is also a metaphor for the social esteem in which her husband is held by others.

The unity of the family is at no point more prominent than in martyrdom. Their deaths are passive: the only active verbs or verb participles with them as subject are 'rogando', 'acomendándose a Dios', and 'entraron en el buey'. They willingly accept martyrdom with prayerful minds. Chastity is not a central theme here. However, incorruptibility of a less specifically sexual nature, equally of the soul and the body, is represented by the fact that not a thread of clothing nor a hair is charred by the fire:<sup>14</sup>

Estonces el enperador fizo encender e escalar un buey de alanbre, e mandólos meter dentro bivos. E los *sanctos*, rogando e acomendándose a Dios, entraron en el buey. E al tercero día, sacáronlos del buey ante el enperador, e falláronlos enteros, en manera *que* el fuego *non* *tanxiera* en ellos *nin* en cabellos, *nin* en otra cosa ninguna dellos. (l.216-21)

Where chastity for female saints was a key concept that was able to express the entire spiritual life, either as a reality or as an analogy, Eustace and his family are pure in a much wider sense and have a larger range of ways of expressing this purity. Unlike saints such as Agnes or Juliana, who forsake human relationships for a mystical marriage with Christ, they remain united in death as well as life. Human family is not incompatible with spiritual reward in this legend.

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<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, it is made clear that Eustace's wife is not raped (109-11). For the importance of virginity and chastity, see the accounts of virgin martyrs such as Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Juliana, Christina, Apollonia, Margaret, Euphemia, Justina, Catherine of Alexandria, Cecilia, or the Virgin of Antioch. A male example can be seen in the figure of Alexis, who leaves his wife on their wedding night in order to preserve their virginity (Vega 1991: 87-96). However, as Alexis is not a martyr, it is less exact to equate his internalised representation of suffering with that thrust upon a martyr.

The representation of Eustace as an individual, as opposed to his status as *paterfamilias*, draws heavily from typology, in particular the links between the saint and Job in the Old Testament. Job was tested by God in order to find out if faith could survive hardship. Eustace is specifically positioned in this tradition by Christ when he sees him for the second time and is given his mission:

Ca conviene *que* te muestres *que* eres Job en sufriendo muchas tentaciones en fin de tu vida. (1.54-55)

After losing his servants, riches, and house, Eustace comes to lament his losses in the same way as Job, and identifies himself with his typological predecessor:

Señor, acuérdome *que* me dexiste *que* me vernían muchas tentaciones como a Job, mas ya veo *que* más fazes a mí. Ca enpero *que* él perdió *quánto* en el mundo avié, enpero ovo esfuerço sobre *qué* pudo ser, mas aun non me fincó ninguna cosa destas. E él ovo amigos *que* se enpiadavan dél, e yo ove las bestias por enemigos, *que* arrebataron los mis fijos. E él fincó con su muger, e a mí tomáronme la mía. (1.99-105)

In comparing himself unfavourably to Job, Eustace is able to highlight the drama inherent in his reversal of fortune. This reworking of the story is even more extreme than its Old Testament ancestor, lending vitality to the narrative through comparison with its antecedent. Furthermore, when the family is reunited, the audience is even more delighted because of the empathy they have developed with the characters. The typological echoes mean that they are already familiar.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Characterisation is naturally limited in hagiography, as the original purpose of the texts was to convince a legalistic body of the saint's sanctity. As a consequence, the hagiography descended from that of Jacobus de Voragine is sometimes lacking in psychological realism (see, for example, Reames' comparison between Voragine and Gregory the Great, 1985: 73-100). The strength of this lies in the fact that saints may represent facets of the Christian life and experience, ultimately leading back to Christ, which renders detailed characterisation unnecessary. However, Eustace and his family are



The end of Eustace's lament for his former life further reinforces his likeness with Job:

Señor, da alguna folgura a las mis tribulaciones, e guarda la boca  
que non peque, nin me echés de la tu gracia. (l.105-06)

Eustace shows patience and steadfastness in his hard times. His awareness of these qualities is placed at a point of structural importance, as the loss of his children represents the low point of his earthly power. The passage epitomises the human, emotional heart of the narrative. Consequently he shows himself to be most human at this point, as he recognises his own vulnerability and shortcomings.

The typological construction of Eustace as a second Job is both explicit and implicit in the narrative. The saint acknowledges his total dependence upon God for his existence and blessings, particularly in his repeated petition for patience, and his trust in divine mercy when he enters the brazen bull.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, his painful trials are presented as a matter of necessity, but no explanation is offered as to why he is chosen to suffer, why he is to be a second Job, when his martyrdom would have been perfectly valid without the long separation and redemption narrative.

It is worth looking at Eustace's role in the martyrdom itself. To begin with, his faith seems to be compatible with his cordial relations with the emperors Trajan and Hadrian, as it was in the case of Sebastian. Trajan grieves at his disappearance: 'E el rey e todos sus senadores, doliéndose mucho del maestro de la cavallería tan noble, porque non le podién fallar en ningunt logar' (l.68-70). The relationship between Eustace and Hadrian is also friendly, with the emperor giving a feast in his honour (l.206-08), until he refuses to sacrifice to the Roman gods (l.210-12). The conflict then arises from a combination of personal disappointment and the desire to subdue the will of a social subordinate. The diffidence on the part of the saint

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portrayed with psychological warmth. They may be symbolic and representative, but they are also plausible and sympathetic characters.

<sup>16</sup> See, for instance, l.105-06, 121-23, and 217-18.

allows him and his family to transcend his former duties—and sufferings—without the least anxiety to his first priority: his faith.

Eustace's public statement of faith is structurally significant, delivering a proclamation of belief and reason for dying at the same time as positioning himself as an opposite to his persecutor. His words are simple: 'Yo honrro a Jhesu Christo, e dél fago sacrificio' (l.212). However, the ambiguity of the second half of this sentence successfully alludes to the Eucharist, the sacrifices of Eustace's life, and his impending death. The sacrifice is to Christ, in his honour; it is also of Christ, using his body. Nothing further needs to be added; Eustace's identity is now constructed through his faith, undergoing a supreme act of *imitatio Christi*. He has suffered for his faith as a confessor and ascetic; now he is to prove his holiness in death. Superficially, the martyrdom appears a little incongruous, with the structure of the rest of the legend taking up less than ten per cent of the text. However, rather than providing a coda to the legend, the episode crowns it. Hagiography demands that the narrative and spiritual pinnacle should not be the restoration of Eustace to his former social status, but the complete rejection of earthly life.

It appears that the legend embraces a double standard of values. For example, a spiritual life of poverty is raised over a wealthy one of comfort, but it is precisely through Eustace's return to high status that he attracts the attention necessary to ensure his martyrdom. The narrative is ambiguous, and the symbolism allows allusions to comprise both positive and negative meanings. In a text where symbols abound but details are few, it is worth looking at the depiction of light and darkness. Its representation, a commonplace in religious thought, literature, and art, epitomises its fluid meaning.

The representation of light suggests two particular dichotomies. First, the contrast between light and its absence on a descriptive level colours narrative and characterisation. Secondly, a metaphorical contrast is implied between light as the representative of good and darkness as indicative of evil. Both are fundamental to the didactic discourse underlying hagiography. The idea of symbolising God as light was well understood in the Middle Ages as a result of Biblical imagery and a tradition of metaphysics in which

God was imagined as the ultimate source of light. This thereafter was transferred through a hierarchy of beings by a process of absorption and reflection.<sup>17</sup> The importance of light here was twofold. First, it originates from God, and is therefore sacred. Second, in the process of reflecting down to mankind, it functions as a link between all of these beings (Lewis 1964: 75-76, 96-97). This links man not only vertically up to God, but laterally to all other things that absorb or reflect light. Medieval Castilian hagiography commonly uses light, darkness, and times of day to colour their often sparse descriptions, making the contrast a key descriptive element.<sup>18</sup>

Light is therefore positive and darkness negative, signifying respectively the presence and absence of the divine. However, hagiography often turns imagery upside down. Martyrdom inverts the normal order of things. Saints choose physical death over life because the process is seen to lead from spiritual death to spiritual eternity. Where in secular literature nobility, riches, and human beauty are praised, desired, and portrayed in terms of light, the ethos of hagiography is to shun these worldly qualities and focus on elements that seem unappealing, disgusting, or abject. Scholars have pointed out the paradox of the body broken in torture and the simultaneous representation of the saint as whole at the point of martyrdom (Bynum 1995: 305-17). The same can be said for light. Saints are quick to relinquish

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<sup>17</sup> The doctrine originates in Plato, and is developed in neo-Platonism, Augustine, and Pseudo-Dionysius. For an overview of the metaphysics and theology of light, as well as its significance for science, see Zajonc (1993). For a discussion of the didactic use of light and darkness in Gonzalo de Berceo, see Mount (1976). His theory of using the dichotomy not only as a motif, but as a doctrinal space, is relevant here. Also see Kelley (2005) on light and sight in Berceo.

<sup>18</sup> Patricia Pögal (1998) sees the use of light imagery as a crucial characteristic of the composition of the Castilian ballad, arguing in favour of adding it to Menéndez Pidal's descriptive criteria of the form. She looks at the role of light as symbolic of various concepts, such as human destiny, religion, enlightenment or truth, beauty, loveliness, power, aristocracy, or royalty. She argues that, in the medieval Spanish ballad, light is used to symbolise and typify all of these qualities. Her theories about the poetic function of light as a way of making the ballad immediate and engaging are more specific to the form, as well as less convincing.

all things earthly. This might imply the shunning of light in hagiography, because it is a positive element necessary for earthly life. The ethos of *mundus inversus*, which drives the *passio*, appears irreconcilable with the concept of God as light. The tension of light's ambiguity helps construct the hagiographic narrative.<sup>19</sup>

Light and darkness, on the most basic moral or conceptual level, characterise the difference between good and bad. However, they are not only linked to positive and negative characteristics. They also become abstract spaces in which moral or theological issues are debated. For example, in the legend of Eustace, a daytime encounter with Christ precedes a baptism under the cover of darkness. Another early morning meeting with Christ heralds the beginning of Eustace's social fall. Throughout the times of physical hardship and separation for the family, the image of night is used. Eustace's doubts and suffering are not fully dispersed until the first of the reunions takes place in the midday sun (l.159).

This would suggest that light is therefore positive, an appropriate background for scenes of joy and happiness. Dawn reflects the spiritual awakening when Eustace becomes enlightened. The darkness of midnight sees the last of Eustace's worldly treasures removed from their house by thieves. However, the moral concept is more complex than it first appears. Darkness is also the space in which Eustace and his family are baptised, in an inversion of the expected symbolism. This sudden reversal in a narrative that is usually true to the pattern whereby light is positive and darkness negative shows that light here does not simply mean light. There is an extra dimension, and an extra power to baptism, as it is able to shine even in darkness. This builds a tension between meanings that challenges concepts of light. It also points to the feats that metaphorical light, in its new guise, can achieve.

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<sup>19</sup> This is the same tension that runs through the Bible. Light is equated with good, but at the Day of Judgement, light is banished and a light that comes directly from God shines (Revelation 21:22-25).

Metaphorical light, then, is used here as a space in which sins must be confessed and punished. Unlike the time of darkness, there is nowhere to hide. Eustace's wife also finds this, as her private bedroom at night is the scene for two major episodes: the dream in which Christ predicts Eustace's conversion, and her conversation with her husband that confirms this.<sup>20</sup> Both of these are moments of literal darkness but spiritual enlightenment.

Light is therefore not a comfortable space, but one of trial. It often emphasises the horror of a particular scene. For example, fire is an integral part of the tortures in all three legends. Eustace and his family are burned alive in a brazen bull. George causes fire to raze a temple to the ground. In the legend of Sebastian, Tiburtius walks over burning embers, after having threatened the saint with roasting in an oven. However, this motif represents a process of refinement rather than torture. The martyrs come through the trial with bodies intact, even if they die in the process, as in the case of Eustace and his family.

Fire, as the brightest tangible source of light on earth, plays a dual part. Not only can it be wielded as a weapon against which human flesh cannot ordinarily stand, its very brightness shields the processes that happen at its heart. What happens inside the burning bull is secret from those outside. Its light, normally used as a metaphorical setting for enlightenment, is conversely used to screen and add mystery. Too much light is as impossible for the human eye to interpret as darkness.

Images of fire, light, and darkness structure the legend. However, smaller-scale echoes of these themes occur on a lexical level. They are less striking, but more pervasive. Words such as 'lunbre' or 'tinieblas' become signposts towards the deeper levels of meaning in the narrative. For example, a direct connection is made between Christ and light. Appearing on a cross that is '*más clara que el sol*' (l.14), Christ and his cross are already described in terms of light. When asked who he is, Christ answers:

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<sup>20</sup> This scene is reminiscent of the first posthumous miracle of Sebastian, where the bedroom is a place for privacy and darkness. However, even here there is nowhere to hide, and her sin is publicly punished the next day.

Plácido, yo só Jhesu Christo que fiz el cielo e la tierra, e fiz nacer la luz e la partí de las tiniebras. E establecí los *tiempos* e los días e las noches, e fiz el omne del limo de la tierra. E aparecí en la carne, e por salvar los omnes fuy crucificado e enterrado, e resucité al tercero día. (l.24-28)

Whilst echoing the words of Genesis, Christ characterises himself in terms of light, and the ordering and measuring of time by light and darkness. As Eustace's trials follow the same patterns of night and day, this is another indication that God's hand will guide the remainder of the legend.

For Eustace, God's creation is re-enacted in his own spiritual awakening. Until now, he has been noted for his good deeds, but continues to worship idols. Now, he is enlightened to the extent that he can distinguish between spiritual light and darkness in his own mind. His encounter with Christ causes a personal spiritual dawn that reflects the dawn of humanity. He is therefore closely linked to light, both in his portrayal on the shining cross and in his ability to awaken Eustace's Christian vocation in the same way he called light into existence.

In short, the legend can be seen as a struggle between the tensions of light and darkness, terminology of which is commonly used to represent dichotomies such as reality and illusion, openness and concealment, and sight and blindness. Imagery of light is used for descriptive purposes, but simultaneously points to a deeper metaphorical level. As a narrative function, light and darkness are settings for important spiritual events, showing the flexibility with which the contrast can be manipulated. Where light or daytime is the setting, this is in harmony with the concept of God as light. Where darkness or night is the setting, it may represent the absence of spiritual protection, or equally highlight the disparity between perception and reality; an ambiguity which the saint can exploit. Light and its imagery originates in God, but the narrative presents the saint reflecting this light, and lends him one of his chief characteristics.

It is clear that the legend of Eustace draws heavily from symbolic traditions. Its rich legacy can also be seen in its interaction with creative fiction. Its parallels with the romance, in particular the *Libro del cavallero Zifar*,

the *Libro de Apolonio*, and the *Poema de Fernán González*, have been noted by critics such as Keller (1955), Walker (1974: 56-69, 1982), Walsh (1977), Brownlee (1983), and Harney (1990). This is also reflected codicologically by virtue of the legend's presence in Escorial h-I-13. Of the nine texts included in the manuscript, four are female saints' lives, four are secular romances about pious women and their husbands, and the story of Eustace, under the title *El Cavallero Plácidas*, is sandwiched between them, both in terms of spiritual framework and legendary subject matter.<sup>21</sup> At the heart of the overlap between the two genres is the proximity of the Christian concept of the miraculous and the medieval literary concept of the marvellous. Both have at their centre supernatural beings and occurrences, and the human characters depicted often have superhuman powers. This appeals to the intellect in the challenge to personal belief, at the same time as providing a memorable and singular narrative.<sup>22</sup> In sharing imagery and symbolism with sources as diverse as the Bible, classical bestiary tradition, ballads and romance, the legend of Eustace is a hybrid narrative whose key element is a fluidity of meaning that allows the human and the divine to meet in the figure of the saint.

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<sup>21</sup> The blurred boundary between romance and hagiography is attested codicologically in other places (Beresford 2000b). For example, the only extant copy of the thirteenth-century *Vida de Santa María Egipcíaca* is found in the same manuscript as the *Libro de Apolonio* (Escorial K-III-4).

<sup>22</sup> See John K. Walsh (1977), who uses the image of the dragon to focus on the proximity between hagiography and romance.

## Conclusion

A consideration of the depiction of sanctity in the legends of Saints George, Sebastian, and Eustace in Compilation B cannot fully be appreciated from the limited stance of the literary critic. In line with modern trends in medieval studies, my work has also been dependent on advances in codicology, palaeography, history, and theology, as well as literary theory. However, it became clear in Chapter One that attempting to establish thematic unity within the corpus is frustrating and likely to raise more questions and caveats than useful observations. Worse still, it can produce misleading or biased readings.

Chapters Two and Three examined the corpus as a textual and codicological whole, showing that the manuscripts of Compilation B, although descended from the same textual origin, are dynamic and unique. Translation is never impartial, but the constant process of reworking and revision in the Compilation complicates the task of working with it. Despite its corrupted readings, accidental lacunae, and deliberate departures from the source text—or perhaps because of them—it is at this time that these manuscripts were considered by modern scholarship alongside Compilation A, Escorial h-I-13, and Biblioteca Nacional 10252 as crucial to an understanding of sanctity in medieval Castile.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six offered an analysis of a number of themes and images common to the three legends. These included concerns such as the nature of the bond between lord and vassal, knighthood, family, and animal symbolism, highlighting the relevance of this research to those engaged with other branches of literary criticism. Superficially, these saints appear to share many qualities: masculinity, lay status, soldiery, martyrdom, and a lack of historically verifiable evidence to support their narratives. However, it is clear that an attempt to impose thematic coherence on the legends is reductive and counterproductive. Even within such a small sample, issues are debated and lead to different and sometimes contradictory conclusions. This elusiveness may appear problematic, but in



reality it points to the richness of hagiography that enables it to delight in the ambiguities of meaning present in the paradoxes central to Christianity.

Any conclusions offered here must be tentative and subject to constant revision as advances in scholarship enrich both the study of Compilation B and medieval sanctity more broadly. However, it would be a source of great personal pleasure and professional pride if this thesis were to constitute one of the stepping stones towards a greater understanding of these issues.

# Appendix 1

## Edited Texts

## Appendix 1

### Editorial procedure

This appendix presents two critical editions and four synoptic editions. They are as follows:

- *Sant Jorge mártir*: a critical edition of the legend of Saint George, using Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419 (F) as the base text, with variants from Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 (M), and Escorial K-II-12 (K).
- *La vida de Sant George (h)*: a synoptic edition of the legend of George from Escorial h-I-14.
- *La vida de Sant Jorge (M)*: a synoptic edition of the legend of George from Escorial M-II-6.
- *Sant Sebastián mártir*: a critical edition of the legend of Saint Sebastian, using Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419 (F) as the base text, with variants from Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 (M), and Escorial K-II-12 (K).
- *La vida de Sant Savastián*: a synoptic edition of the legend of George from Escorial h-I-14.
- *La vida de Sant Eustachio*: a synoptic edition of the legend of Eustace from Escorial h-I-14.

Scribal errors have been emended and noted in the critical apparatus, or replaced with a variant reading and marked with an asterisk in the notes. Some manuscripts present lacunae, which are not marked in the text. Lacunae in the variants are shown by —, and [...] for lacunae of less than a full word.

Variant vowel sounds, such as *o* and *u*, or *demientre* and *demientra* are not noted in the critical apparatus unless they present lexical or grammatical variants. Similarly, elided pronouns such as *quel* are not given as variants unless variants supply more than one pronoun. Initial and final double *rr*, *ss*, and *ff* have been transcribed as *r*, *s*, and *f*, and initial R- is represented (unless a capital) as *r*-. Internal double letters have been preserved to maintain syllabic values, although double vowels (such as *ver* and *veer*) have not been given as variants. The interchangeable use of *l*- and *ll*-, *b* and *v*, and *i* and *y* is retained from the base text. The cedilla marks a soft *c*, and is kept only before *a*, *o* and *u*. The letters *u* and *v*, and *i* and *j* are used interchangeably throughout the manuscripts, so they are transcribed as *u* or *i* where a vocalic value is implied, and *v* or *j* where consonantal.

Abbreviations denoted have been expanded and italicised. However, tildes above the words *como* and *mucho* have been ignored because there are no examples of expansion to longer forms in the texts. *Ihu Xpo* has been transcribed as 'Jhesu Christo'. The Tironian sign and occurrences of the word *et* have been transcribed as *e* rather than *et* to avoid Latinism. Roman numerals have been left as they appear in the manuscript.

Word division follows modern practice, using the symbol | to mark words straddling two columns. Contractions have been left in the form they take in the manuscript, such as *dél* (*de él*), *antél* or *antel* (*ante él* and *ante el*), and *díxol* (*díxole*).

Accents and tildes have been added following the principles of modern Castilian grammar. Instances of *n* with a tilde are transcribed as *ñ* rather than the obsolete *nn*. Archaic words have been accented where necessary, such as *dó*, *só*, *vó*, and *á* to distinguish between verbs and interrogative pronouns, and prepositions. The archaic imperfect tense has been accented on the final *e*, such as *podíe*, *sofrié*, *dixíe*.<sup>1</sup> Verbs are also accented to maintain the correct emphasis where they append a pronoun. *Fuése* represents the preterite third person singular of *ser* or *ir* to distinguish it from the unaccented imperfect subjunctive form. Names have been accented according to common sense and knowledge of Latin. Variations on forms of names have been left as the manuscript records, or offered in the critical apparatus on their first appearance. Variants do not record alternative possessive adjectives such as *mios* for *mis*.

All paragraph breaks, punctuation, and speech marks are editorial. Most full stops in the manuscripts are marked by paragraph signs, but some complex or long sentences have been further broken down. Spurious sentence breaks have been eliminated.

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<sup>1</sup> See Menéndez Pidal 1958 (308-09), Penny 1991 (168), and Resnick 1981 (94-95).

## Sant Jorge mártir

Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419, fols 45<sup>rb</sup>-47<sup>rb</sup> (*F*), with variants from Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 fols 58<sup>rb</sup>-59<sup>va</sup> (*M*), Escorial K-II-12 fols 73<sup>va</sup>-75<sup>vb</sup> (*K*).

### Sant Jorge mártir

- Sant Jorge fue infançón muy noble e fue natural de Capadocia. E vino una vegada a la *provincia* de Libia en una cibdat que dizían Silena. E cerca della era una laguna tan grande *que* semejava mar, en la *qual* estava un dragón malo, en tanto que muchas vegadas el pueblo
- 5 que vinía *contra* él, les fazía foyr, allegándose al muro de la cibdat, enponçoñava todos los omnes, e con su soflo los espantava. E por ende dávanle cada día ovejas por que amansasse la su saña. E sy desto le menguavan, vinía fasta el muro de la villa, e enponçoñava el ayre, e murían muchos. Esto era grand espanto en todas las tierras.
- 10 E fallesciendo ya *quasi* las ovejas, las gentes ovieron su consejo: *que* le diesen un omne e una oveja cada día. E echaron suertes sobre los fijos e sobre las fijas de todos. E esta suerte, como sobre todos caía, e *quasi* todos seyendo comidos, cayó la suerte una vegada sobre la hija del rey. E fue juzgada *que* la diesen al dragón. Entonce el rey
- 15 muy triste dixo: 'Tomat oro e plata e la meytad del mi reyno, e dexat mi hija *non* muera en tal manera.' E respondió el pueblo con grand saña: 'Tú, rey, posiste este decreto entre nos, e agora que todos *nuestros* fijos son muertos, *quieres* tú, señor, salvar tu hija; [fol. 45<sup>va</sup>] e si *non* cunplieres en tu hija lo que ordenaste entre nosotros, *quemarte*
- 20 hemos a ty e a tu casa.' E veyendo el rey esto, començó a llorar su hija diziendo: '¡Ay, mi hija muy dulce! ¿Qué faré o *qué* diré, porque ante veré la tu muerte que las tus bodas?' E tornóse a los del pueblo e díxoles: 'Ruégovos que me dedes plazo de ocho días por que pueda llorar mi hija.' E otorgárongelo.
- 25 Mas a cabo de los ocho días tornó el pueblo muy sañudo, diziendo: '¿Por qué pierdes el tu pueblo todo por la tu hija? E vástete ya, que todos morimos con el soflo del dragón.' E entonce, veyendo el rey *que non* podía librar su hija, vistióla de vestiduras de reyna, e abraçándola, llorando muy fuertemente dixo: '¡Ay, mi hija muy dulce,
- 30 esperaba de aver fijos de ti que casasse, e agora héte de dar al dragón

para que te coma! ¡Ay, la mi fija muy dulce, cuydava conbidar príncipes a las *tres* bodas, e fenchir el palacio de aljófares, e oír cítolas e viyuelas e todos los otros instrumentos, e agora liévanvos *que* vos coma el dragón!’ E començóla de besar, diziendo: ‘Fija, Dios ordenara  
35 que yo muriera antes que viera la tu muerte en esta manera.’ E estonçe ella echóse a los pies de su padre, demandándole la su bendición. E bendíxola el padre con muchas lágrimas. E fue con ella fasta el dragón.

E acaesció que Sant Jorge passava por ende, e veyéndola, vio  
40 que llorava, e preguntóle *qué* avía. E díxole ella: ‘Hermano, sube en tu [fol. 45<sup>vb</sup>] cavallo *privado*; *non* mueras aquí conmigo.’ E díxole Jorge: ‘Non ayas miedo, fija, mas dime qué fazes ende, o por qué te espera toda esta gente.’ E dixo ella: ‘Parésceme que eres muy atrevido, e maravíllome mucho, porque quieres aquí morir conmigo; e fuye  
45 apriessa.’ E díxole Sant Jorge: ‘Non me *partiré* de ti fasta que me digas qué has, o por qué estás aquí.’ E diziéndoglo ella, díxole Jorge: ‘Non ayas miedo, fija, que yo te ayudaré con el nonbre de Jhesu Christo.’ E díxole ella: ‘Cavallero, vete tu carrera; *non* perescas *aquí* conmigo, e cumple que yo sola perezca, e tú non. Ca non te podrás salvar, e  
50 morrás aquí conmigo.’

E demientra que ellos esto dizían, ahevos el dragón do vinía, la cabeça alçada sobre el agua. Entonce la infanta, cuytada de miedo e tremiendo, dixo: ‘¡Fuye! ¡Fuye aýna de *aquí*!’ E luego Jorge subió en su cavallo, e armándose *con* la cruz, fue con grand osamiento *contra* el  
55 dragón que venía *contra* él. E enderesçando la lança e acomendándose a Dios, firiólo de muerte, e echólo en tierra. E dixo a la infanta: ‘Fija, toma tu correa e échagela al cuello, e non dubdes en *ninguna* cosa, ca non te podrá ya enpeescer.’ E ella fízolo asý. E començósse de yr tirando por la correa, e el dragón siguiéndola como  
60 can manso; así lo aduxieron [fol. 46<sup>ra</sup>] a la cibdat.

E veyéndolos las gentes, començaron de foyr por los montes e por las fortalezas, diziendo: ‘¡Valnos Dios, que todos *peresceremos*!’ Entonce Jorge fízoles señal e díxoles: ‘Non ayades miedo ninguno, ca por esso me enbió Dios acá, por que vos librasse de las penas e del  
65 mal deste dragón.’ Entonce el rey e todo el pueblo baptizáronse. E Giorje sacó la espada e mató al dragón, e mandólo echar fuera de la cibdat; e aduxieron *quatro* yugos de bueys, e echáronlo en un *grant* campo fuera de la cibdat.

E baptizáronse en aquel día veynte mill omnes, sin los niños e  
70 las mugeres. Entonce el rey, en honrra de Santa María e de Sant Jorge,  
fizo una yglesia muy grande, de cuyo altar mana una fuente biva, cuyo  
bever sana los enfermos todos. E el rey ofresció muchos dineros a  
Jorge, e él non los quiso tomar para su thesoro, mas mandólos dar a  
los pobres. Entonce Jorge mostró al rey quatro cosas de la fe: lo  
75 primero, que oviese cuydado de las iglesias de Dios; lo ál, que  
honrrasse a los sacerdotes; lo ál, que oyesse los oficios de Dios; e lo  
quarto, que se acordasse sienpre de los pobres. E asý les dio paz de la  
tribulación que avían del dragón, e después partióse dende.

E en aquel tiempo, seyendo enperadores Diocleciano e  
80 Maximiano, e un adelantado que dizían Daciano. Aquél fue tan grand  
perseguidor de los *Christianos* que en un mes fueron martirizados bien  
diez e siete mill omnes, en tan departidas maneras de tormen|tos [fol.  
46<sup>rb</sup>] que fallescían de la fe muchos *Christianos*, e tornábanse a  
sacrificar los ydolos. E veyendo Sant Jorge esta maldat, ovo ende muy  
85 grand dolor en su coraçón. E todo lo que él avía diólo a los pobres, e  
partiósse del hábito de la cavallería. E tomó hábito de *Christiano*, e  
parósse en medio de los *Christianos*, llamando e diziendo: '¡Todos los  
dioses de los gentiles son diablos e Jhesu Christo fizo los cielos!  
Entonce el adelantado fue contra él sañudo, diziendo: '¿Cómo fuyste  
90 tú osado de llamar diablos a los *nuestros* dioses? Dinos dónde eres e  
cómo te dizen.' E él dixo: 'Jorge me dizen, e soy fidalgo; de tierra de  
Capadocia soy natural, e todo lo desanparé por amor de servir a Jhesu  
*Christo*.' E el adelantado, non se pudiendo deffender, por esto  
mandóle aspar e despedasçar, que non fincasse mienbro con mienbro,  
95 e ponerle fachas encendidas en los costados. E aparesciéndole ya las  
entrañas, mandóle fregar las llagas con sal. E en essa noche aparescióle  
Jhesu Christo con grand claridat, e conortólo muy dulcemente. En tal  
manera fue conortado con esta fabla e con esta visión, que non dava  
nada por los tormentos.

100 E veyendo Daciano que lo non podía vencer, fizo venir un  
encantador, e díxole: 'Los *Christianos* con sus encantamientos  
escarnescen *nuestros* tormentos, e non prescian los sacrificios de  
*nuestros* dioses.' E díxole el encantador: 'Dígovos que sy yo non lo  
venciere, que me descabecedes luego.' E él, con sus ma|leficios [fol.  
105 46<sup>va</sup>] e llamando los sus dioses, mezcló peçoña en el vino, e dava a  
bever a Jorge; e Sant Jorge fizo la señal de la cruz sobre ello e beviólo,

e quiso Dios que non le fizo mal ninguno. E dióle otra vegada otro más fuerte, e otrosý non le fizo mal nin le enpesció, faziendo él sienpre la señal de la cruz. E el encantador, veyendo esto, cognosciósse por  
110 vencido e cayó luego a sus pies, llorando con muchas lágrimas. E demandó perdón de lo que le fiziera e rogával que le fiziesse *Christiano*. E mandó el juez descabeçar luego a *aquel* encantador.

E otro día mandó meter a Jorge en una rueda de navajas e de guchillos agudos de amas las partes, mas por la gracia de Dios, luego  
115 quebró la rueda e fallaron a Jorge sano e sin daño ninguno. Entonce, muy sañudo el adelantado, mandóle echar en una sartén de plomo retido, e él faziendo la señal de la cruz, entró en ella e por la virtud de Dios estava seguro, bien así como en baño. E veyéndolo Daciano pensó que lo vengría con falagos pues que lo non podía vencer con  
120 tantas maneras de tormentos, e dixo: ‘Ves, fijo Jorge, cómo te son mansos los *nuestros* dioses; aunque los as blasfemado, aún te sufren con grand paciencia e quiérente perdonar, sy te quisieres tornar a ellos. E por ende, mío fijo dulce, faz lo que te yo amonesto, que dexes esta locura que tienes de los *Christianos*, e sacrifica a los *nuestros* dioses por  
125 tal que de ellos e de nos rescibas muchas honrras.’ E respon | dió [fol. 46<sup>vb</sup>] Jorge como riendo: ‘¿Cómo non me falagueste assí en el comienço? Así lo devieras fazer, que non atormentarme. E evas, que quiero fazer *quánto* tú mandares.’

E por ende Daciano fue escarnescido con esta promessa, e muy  
130 ledo, e mandó pregonar que todos viniessen e verían cómo Jorge, que tan rebelde era, que se echava en el suelo para sacrificar los dioses. E fecha toda la cibdat apuesta e fermosa por gozo, porque Jorge avía de entrar al tenplo de los ydolos a adorarlos, e estándose ende gozándose mucho, fincó los ynojos; e rogó a Dios que destruyesse el tenplo de  
135 los ydolos, en tal manera que non fincasse nada del tenplo, por que Él fuesse loado e el pueblo convertido. E a la sazón descendió fuego del cielo e quemó el tenplo con sus ydolos e con sus sacerdotes; e abrióse la tierra e sorviólos todos. E por ende, loándol Sant Ambrosio, dizía: ‘Bienaventurado e noble lidiador fuyste, Jorge, que las promessas del  
140 rey temporal non lo pudieron trastornar, mas ha engañado al perseguidor, e todos los ydolos echó en los abismos!’

E quando esto oyó Daciano, fizole venir ante sí. E díxole: ‘Mal omne, ¿qué encantamientos son éstos que tú fazes, e estos maleficios? Ca feziste muy grand trayción.’ E díxole Jorge: ‘Rey, non quieras creer



- 145 que asý es, mas ve comigo e verme has sacrificar otra vegada.' E  
díxole él: 'Entendiendo el tu engaño que tú quieres fazer [fol. 47<sup>ra</sup>], non  
te *quiero* creer, ca bien sé que querriás que me sorviesse la tierra así  
como feziste sorver el tenplo.' E díxole Giorje: '¡Mesquino! Dime, los  
tus dioses que non pudieron ayudar a sý, ¿cómo ayudarán a ti?' E el  
150 enperador, muy sañado, dixo a su muger Alixandria: 'Morirme he  
fallescendo, ca veo que me desonrra este omne.' E díxole ella:  
'¡Carnicero malo, cruel! ¿Non te dixes yo muchas vegadas: non quieras  
fazer mal a los *Christianos*, ca el su Dios lidia por ellos? E agora sepas  
que yo quiero ser *Christiana*.' E el enperador, maravillándose, dixo: '¡E  
155 tú, muger, engañada eres!' E fizola colgar por los cabellos e açotarla  
muy cruelmente. E mientra que la açotavan, dixo ella a Jorge: 'Jorge, tú  
eres lumbre de la verdat, ¿pues piensas dó yré, ca non soy baptizada?' E  
díxole Jorge: 'Fija, non temas ninguna cosa, ca en la tu sangre te  
baptizarás e serás coronada.' E estonce, rogando ella a Dios, salióle el  
160 alma.

E otro día dieron tal *sentencia* contra Jorge que lo arrastrassen  
por toda la cibdat, e después, que lo descabeçassen. Enpero rogó a  
Dios que todos los que demandassen su ayuda, que la oviesen de  
Dios. E vino una boz del cielo e dizía *que* asý sería conplido como él  
165 rogava. E fecha la oración, descabeçaron|lo. [fol. 47<sup>rb</sup>] E tornándose  
Daciano del lugar donde fue descabeçado, vino un fuego del cielo e  
mató a él e a *quantos* con él vinían. E levando unas reliquias de Sant  
Jorge, e posando en una iglesia otro día mañana, non pudieron mover  
las reliquias fasta que dexaron ende su *parte* dellas.

## Critical Apparatus

- rubric] Sant Jorge mártir *F*: la fiesta de  
Sant Gorge: veynte e tres días de abril  
*M*; título de Sant Jorge *K*
- 2] a *FK*: en *M* // \* Libia *MK*: Liba *F*  
// dizían *F*: dizién *M*; dizen *K*
- 3] cerca *FK*: acerca *M* // era *FM*:  
estava *K* // tan grande *FM*: *om. K*
- 3-4] en la *qual F*: en *que M*; e *K*
- 4] malo *FM*: muy malo *K*
- 4-5] el pueblo que vinía *F*: el pueblo *que*  
vinié armado *M*; venía el pueblo  
armado *K*
- 5] les fazia *F*: faziélo[...] él *M*; e  
fazíalos *K* // allegándose *F*: e  
allegándose *M*; e llegávase *K*
- 6] enponçoñava todos los omnes *FM*: e  
enponçoñávalos *K* // con su soflo  
los espantava *FM*: espantávalos con  
su sollo *K*
- 7] dábanle cada día *F*: dábanle cada día  
*M*; cada día le avían de dar de comer  
*K* // amansasse *FM*: amansasen *K*
- 7-8] sy desto le menguavan *FM*: desque  
esto non fazían *K*
- 8] vinía *FK*: vinié *M* // villa *FM*: cibdat  
*K* // enponçoñava *FM*: enpuzoñava  
*K*
- 9] murían *F*: murién *M*; así morían *K* //  
muchos *FM*: todos muchos *K* //  
esto *F*: e esto *M*; *om. K* // era grand  
espanto en todas las tierras *FM*: *om.*  
*K*
- 10] quasi las *F*: fascas l[...] *M*; cerca las  
*K* // las gentes *FM*: *om. K*
- 11] un omne e una oveja cada día *F*: un  
omne o una oveja muger cada día *M*  
; cada vegada una oveja e un omne *K*  
// echaron *F*: echando *MK*
- 12] sobre las *FM*: las *K*
- 12-13] e esta suerte, como sobre todos  
*FM*: los *que K*
- 13] caía *F*: cayese *M*; cayesen *K* // e  
quasi *F*: fasta *que K*; e fas[...] *M* //  
seyendo *F*: fuessen *MK* // \* cayó  
*MK*: e cayó *F* // la suerte una  
vegada *F*: la suerte una v[...]da *M*;  
una vegada la suerte *K*
- 14] e *FM*: e de allý *K*
- 16] mi *FM*: la mi *K* // non *FK*: e non  
*M* // respondiό *F*: [...]diό *M*;  
respondiόl *K*
- 17] saña *FK*: saña, e dixieron *M* //  
decreto *FM*: derecho *K* // entre nos  
*FM*: *om. K* // que *FK*: desp[...] *que*  
*M*
- 17-18] todos *nuestros* fijos son *F*: todos  
los *nuestros* fijos son *M*; son todos  
*nuestros* fijos e fijas *K*
- 18] señor *F*: — *M*; *om. K* // tu *F*: —  
*M*; a tu *K* // e *F*: — *M*; *om. K*
- 19] non *F*: — *M*; tú non *K* //  
cunplieres *F*: — *M*; cunples *K* //  
ordenaste *F*: — *M*; ovo *K* // entre  
nosotros *F*: — *M*; en los otros asý  
como nos *K*
- 20] el rey esto *F*: [...] esto *M*; esto el  
rey *K* // a *FM*: de *K*
- 21] diziendo *F*: e dezir *M*; e dezía *K* //  
mi *F*: la mi *MK* // muy *F*: — *M*;  
*om. K*
- 21-22] ante veré *FM*: veo ante *K*
- 22] las *F*: — *M*; non las *K* // tornóse  
*FM*: tornándose *K* // a los del *FM*:  
al *K*
- 22-23] e díxoles *F*: e dixo *M*; dezía *K*
- 24] otorgárongelo *FM*: otorgándogelo *K*
- 25] mas *FM*: e *K* // tornó *F*: tornóse  
*MK*
- 26] diziendo *FK*: diziéndol *M* // todo  
*FM*: *om. K* // e váste ya *FM*: sepa *K*
- 27] del *F*: deste *MK* // e *FM*: *om. K*
- 28-29] e abraçándola *F*: e abraçándola e  
*M*; abraçándola *K*
- 29] muy fuertemente *FM*: *om. K*
- 30] esperaba *FM*: es esperaba *K* // de  
aver fijos de ti *F*: de ti aver fijos *M*;  
yo de ty criar aun fijos *K* // casasse *F*  
: casse *M*; criase *K*
- 31] para *F*: *om. MK* // que te coma *FM*  
: *om. K* // muy *FK*: *om. M* //  
cuydava *FM*: cobdiciava *K*
- 32] a las *tus* bodas *FM*: muchos *K* //  
aljófares *FM*: a | aljófares *K*
- 32-33] oýr cítolas e víyuelas e todos los  
otros *FM*: de violas e de *K*
- 33] liévanvos *F*: liévante *MK* // vos *F*:  
te *MK*

- 34] \* coma MK: ~~per~~ coma F // començóla de besar FM: besándola K // diziendo F: e díxol M; dixo K // fija FM: sy K // ordenara FK: lo ordenara M
- 35] yo muriera F: muera yo M; moriera yo K // antes que viera la tu muerte en esta manera F: ante *que* así te vea perder M; ante *que* tie [sic] asý asý viesse perder K
- 35-36] \* estonce ella echóse a los pies de su padre, demandándole M: demandóle F; ella estonce echóse a los pies de su padre e demandól K
- 36] su FM: om. K
- 37] fue FM: fuése K
- 39] acaesció que FM: om. K // passava FM: pasando K // ende F: y MK // veyéndola FK: om. M
- 39-40] vio que FM: como K
- 40] llorava FK: llorava la donzella e los todos los *que* avién ydo con ella M [the dotted underline marks an alternative to a line through the word.] // e FM: om. K // \* *qué* MK: que *qué* F // avía FK: avié M // e FM: om. K
- 40-41] en tu cavallo *privado* F: en tu cavallo *privado* e fuye M; *priado* en tu cavallo e vete fuyendo K
- 41] non FK: *que* non M
- 42] non ayas miedo, fija FM: fija, non ayas miedo K // ende F: *aquí* MK // o FK: e M // espera F: es[...]a M; *esperan* K
- 43] toda esta gente FM: todas estas gentes K // dixo F: díxol MK // parésceme F: seméjame MK
- 44] mucho F: de ti MK // e F: om. MK
- 45] Sant Jorge F: [...] Jorge M; Jorge K // de ti FK: *daquí* M
- 46] diziéndogelo ella F: diziéndogelo ella todo M; ella díxogelo todo, e K
- 47] que FM: ca K // el nonbre FM: la señal de la cruz e con el nonbre K
- 48] vete F: vé MK // carrera FM: vía K // non F: e non MK // \* *perescas* *aquí* comigo MK: *perezcas* F // e F: — M; om. K
- 49] que FK: si M // *perezca* FK: *peresciere* M // e tú non F: om. MK // non FM: tú non K // *salvar* F: librar MK
- 51] demientra que FM: om. K // ellos FK: en M // esto dizían F: esto fa[...]an M; en fablando esto K // ahevos FM: om. K // el dragón do vinía F: el dragón do vinié M; *viniendo*, el dragón veniá K
- 52] sobre FK: por sobre M // cuytada de miedo e F: cuyta[...] M; om. K
- 53] ¡fuye! ¡Fuye F: — M; señor bueno, fuye K // de *aquí* F: — M; om. K // e luego F: — M; estonce K
- 53-54] subió en su cavallo, e armándose con la cruz F: — M; armándose de la señal de la cruz, sobió en su cavallo, e K
- 54] fue FM: fuése K
- 55] que venía contra él F: *que* [...] él M; om. K // e FM: e él K // *enderesçando* FM: engrameando K
- 55-56] e acomendándose F: [...]omendándose M; acomendóse K
- 56] firiólo FM: e feriól K
- 57] fija FM: om. K
- 58] \* ca non te podrá ya enpeescer M: ca non te podrá ya *p* enpescer F; fija K // e ella fizolo asý FM: om. K
- 58-59] e començósse de yr FM: om. K
- 59] tirando por la correa F: tirando por la carrera M; om. K // siguiéndola FM: siguióla K
- 60] manso FM: muy manso K // así F: e assí M; e K // lo aduxieron FM: aduxiéronlo K
- 61] veyéndolos las gentes FM: las gentes *quando* lo vieron K // de FM: a K // \* por los montes e M: om. F; por los muros e K
- 62] diziendo FM: e dezían K // valnos F: val M; o K // que todos *peresceremos* FM: cómo *perescemos* K
- 63] entonce FK: e estonce M // señal FM: señas K // e díxoles FM: om. K // non ayades miedo ninguno FM: *que* non oviesen miedo ninguno K // ca FM: e K
- 64] esso F: esto MK // por FK: om. M
- 64-65] e del mal deste FM: del K
- 65] entonce FM: e estonce K

- 66] \* la MK : el F // al F : el MK // mandólo echar FM : mandó *quel* echasen K
- 67] cibdat FM : villa K
- 67-68] \* e aduxieron *quatro* yugos de bueys, e echáronlo en un grant canpo fuera de la cibdat K : en un canpo FM
- 69] \* veynte mill M : XX *mill* F ; más de veynte mill K
- 69-70] los niños e las mugeres FM : las mugeres e syn los niños K
- 71] de FM : de so K // cuyo FM : de cuyo K
- 72] \* beber MK : bevar F // los enfermos todos F : todos los enfermos MK // *díneros* FM : dones K
- 73] Jorge FM : Sant Jorge K // e FM : mas K // para su thesoro F : para sí M ; om. K // mas FM : e K
- 74] *entonce* FK : e *estonce* M // *mostró* FM : mandó K
- 75] de Dios FM : om. K // lo ál FM : e K
- 76] honrrasse FM : onrrase mucho K // a FK : om. M // lo ál FM : e K // oyesse F : oyese muy bien MK // los oficios FM : el servicio K
- 76-77] e lo *quarto* F : la ál M ; e K
- 77] así les dio FM : después diól K
- 77-78] de la tribulación FM : om. K
- 78] que avían F : *que* avién M ; om. K // del dragón, e después *partiósse* FM : partiéndose K
- 79] e en FK : en M
- 80] un adelantado que dizían Daciano F : uno adelantado *quel* dizién Daciano M ; Daciano adelantado K
- 80-81] *aquel* fue tan grand perseguidor F : e tan grand fue la persecución M ; tan grande fue la persecución K
- 81] fueron martirizados F : fueron ma[...]tirizados M ; morieron K
- 82] en F : onde entre M ; onde de K // tan departidas FM : atantas K
- 83] que F : om. MK // fallestían FK : fallecién M // de la fe FM : om. K // *Christianos* FM : omes K
- 83-84] tornávanse a sacrificar FM : sacrificavan K
- 84] veyendo FM : viéndolo K // esta maldat F : *aquella* maldat M ; om. K // ende FM : om. K
- 85] en F : [...] en M ; ende en K // él FM : om. K // avía FK : avié M
- 86] *partiósse* del FM : dexó el K
- 87] de los *Christianos* F : dellos MK // llamando e diziendo F : llamando [...] M ; e dixo K
- 88] dioses F : — M ; dios K // los cielos F : — M ; el cielo e la tierra e el mar e todas las cosas *que* en ellos son K
- 89] *entonce* F : — M ; e K // adelantado fue contra él sañudo F : [...] adelantado sañudo f[...] M ; adelantado fue muy sañudo K // diziendo F : díxol M ; e dixo K
- 90] tú F : om. MK // diablos a los *nuestros* dioses F : [...]s *nuestros* dios diablos M ; los *nuestros* dios diablos K
- 90-91] e cómo te dizen F : o cómo te dizen M ; om. K
- 91] él dixo F : él ~~te~~ M ; díxol K // de tierra F : e de *tierra* M ; en *tierra* K
- 92] soy natural FM : om. K // e F : mas MK // \* desanparé MK : desmanparé F // amor de servir a F : tal *que* sirviese a M ; amor de K
- 93] non se pudiendo deffender, por esto F : ~~non se pudiendo vencer por esta~~ M ; non se podía vencer, por esto K
- 94] \* aspar MK : ~~dest~~ en aspar F // que FK : *quel* M
- 95] en F : a MK // aparesciéndole F : pareciéndol MK // ya FM : om. K
- 96] e FM : om. K
- 97] grand claridat FM : muy grant lumbre K // muy FM : om. K // \* dulcemente MK : fuerte F // en F : e en MK
- 99] los FM : estos K
- 100] podía FK : podié M
- 102] e FM : *que* K // non prescian F : menosprecian MK
- 103] *nuestros* F : los *nuestros* MK // dioses F : dios MK // dígovos *que* FM : om. K // yo non lo FK : lo yo non M
- 104] venciére FK : pudiere vencer M // *que* me descabecedes FM :

- descabeçatme K // maleficios FM :  
encantamientos K
- 105] e llamando los sus FM : *om.* K //  
dioses F : dios M ; *om.* K // peçoña F  
: pozonia M ; venino K // en el FM :  
*con* K // dava FM : diólo K
- 106] Jorge F : Sant George MK // Sant  
Jorge FM : él K // sobre F : contra  
MK
- 107] quiso Dios que non le F : *quiso*  
Dios *quel* no M ; non lo K // mal  
ninguno FM : *ningunt* mal K
- 107-09] e dióle otra vegada otro más  
fuerte, e otrosý non le fizo mal *nin* le  
enpesció, faziendo él sienpre la señal  
de la cruz FM : *om.* K
- 109-10] cognosciósse por vencido e FM  
: *om.* K
- 110] luego FM : *om.* K // llorando FM :  
*om.* K
- 111] demandó FK : demandando M // le  
fiziera FM : avía fecho K // \* rogával  
K : píadel F ; *om.* M
- 112] mandó FM : mandól K // el juez  
descabeçar luego F : luego el juez  
descabeçar MK // a *aquel* encantador  
FM : *om.* K
- 113] e FM : *om.* K // meter a Jorge F : a  
George meter MK // de navajas e F :  
*om.* MK
- 114] guchillos F : guchiello M ;  
cochiello K // las FM : *om.* K //  
mas FM : enpero K // por la gracia de  
Dios F : por gracia de Dios M ; *om.* K
- 115] Jorge FM : Sant Jorge K // sano e  
F : sano M ; *om.* K // daño ninguno F  
: daño *ningu*[...] M ; *ninguna* lysiön K  
// *entonce* FK : e *estonce* M
- 116] muy sañudo el adelantado F : muy  
sañudo M ; el adelantado muy sañudo  
e K
- 117] él faziendo F : faziendo él MK //  
por la FM : por K
- 118] seguro, bien así F : — M ; en ella  
bien K
- 119] vencería F : *vencerié* MK // con  
falagos F : en *falagándol* MK
- 120] tantas F : *om.* MK // maneras de  
tormentos FM : amenazas K // dixo  
F : díxol MK // ves F : — M ; *evas* K
- 120-21] cómo te son mansos F : *qué*  
mansos son MK
- 121] dioses F : dioses contra ti M ; dios  
contra ty K // *aunque* los as  
blasfemado F : [...] tan mal  
blasfemeste, e M ; *porque* tan mal los  
blasfemeste e K // te sufren FM :  
súfrente K
- 122] *quiérente* FM : aún *quiérente* K
- 123] amonesto F : amo[...]to M ; digo e  
amonesto K // que dexes FM : e  
dexa K
- 124] a F : *om.* MK // dioses F : dios MK
- 125] muchas FM : galardón e muchas K  
// \* respon|dió : respon|pondió F ;  
respondiól M , díxol K
- 126] como riendo F : co[...] riendo M ;  
*om.* K // cómo F : por *qué* M ; e  
cómo K // *falagueste* FK :  
*afalagueste* M // \* *assí* en el MK : en  
F
- 127] así F : *que* M ; ca K // lo devieras  
FM : *deviéraslo* K // *que* FM : ca K  
// atormentarme FM : me devieras  
asý atormentar K // e FM : *om.* K //  
*evas* F : *váste* M ; *evaste* K
- 128] *quánto* FM : todo *quánto* K //  
*mandares* FM : *dizes* K
- 129-30] \* muy ledo e MK : luego F
- 130] verían FK : *verién* M // cómo F : a  
MK
- 131] era F : fuera MK // que se echava  
F : e *quel* *verién* *cayer* M ; *quel* *verían*  
*caer* K // el suelo F : *tierra* MK //  
*para* F : e MK // los FK : a los M //  
dioses F : *ýdolos* MK
- 132] por F : *con* MK // avía FK : *avié* M
- 133] entrar al tenplo de los ýdolos a  
adorarlos F : entrar al *tenpl*[...] de los  
ýdolos e adorarlos M ; sacrificar e de  
adorar los ýdolos K // e FM : *om.* K  
// *estándose* F : *estando* todos MK  
// *ende* F : *ý* e MK
- 134] *fincó* F : *fincó* George MK
- 135] nada del tenplo F : nada *dél* M ; en  
él *ninguna* cosa K
- 136] *convertido* F : *convertido* a *Él* MK  
// e FM : *om.* K
- 137] *quemó* FM : *quemó* todo K // sus  
sacerdotes F : los *sacerd*[...]tes M ; los  
sacerdotes K

- 138] \* loándol Sant Ambrosio MK:  
loando Jorge mucho a Dios F // dizía  
F: dizié M; dize K
- 139] bienaventurado F: el  
bienaventu[...]do M; el  
bienaventurado K // lidiador fuyste,  
Jorge F: lidiador de Dios M; e  
amigo de Dios K
- 140] lo FM: le K // ha engañado F:  
engañó M; engañando K
- 141] e F: om. MK // todos los ydolos  
echó FM: echó todos los ydolos K  
// en FM: en fondón de K
- 142] e FM: om. K // esto FM: lo K
- 142-43] mal omne F: di, omne malo M;  
omne malo K
- 143] encantamentos son éstos F: son  
estos enc[...]tamientos M; maleficios  
son éstos K // que tú fazes F: om.  
MK.
- 143-44] e estos maleficios? ca F: e tus  
maleficios? ca M; que K
- 144] muy FM: om. K // quieras creer F:  
creas MK
- 145] es FM: es fecho K
- 146] díxole FM: dixo K // tú FK: om.  
M
- 147] querías F: quieres MK
- 148] como FK: como ya M // \* sorver  
el tenplo M: ~~la~~ tie el tenplo F; el  
tenplo K
- 149] dioses F: dios MK // pudieron F:  
pueden MK // e FK: om. M
- 150] enperador F: adelantado MK //  
morirme FM: morré K // he F: om.  
M; de K
- 152] malo FK: om. M // cruel FM: om.  
K // yo FM: om. K // non FM: que  
non K
- 152-53] quieras fazer FM: fezieses K
- 153] ca F: — M; que K // agora F: —  
M; om. K
- 154] quiero F: — M; que quiero K //  
enperador F: adelantado M;  
adelantado, oyendo esto K //  
maravillándose F: mara[...] M; fue  
maravillado, e K
- 154-55] e tú, muger F: [...] tú, muger M  
; tú ya K
- 155] por F: — M; de K // açotarla FM  
: acotarla K
- 156] muy FM: om. K // açotavan FM:  
levavan K // ella FM: om. K
- 157] piensas F: qué asmas MK // ca FK  
: que M
- 158] temas ninguna cosa FM: ayas  
miedo K
- 159] coronada. E F: corona[...] e M;  
coronada K // rogando ella FM: ella  
rogando K
- 160] alma FM: ánima K
- 161] e FM: om. K
- 163] los F: aquéllos MK
- 164] e FM: estonce K // e FM: que K  
// dizía F: dixo MK // sería FK:  
serié M // conplido FM: om. K // él  
FK: lo él M
- 165] rogava FM: dezía e rogava K //  
oración FK: oración e oyda la  
repuesta M
- 166] fue F: fuera M; él fuera K //  
fuego FM: viento K
- 167] quantos FM: todas las conpañas  
que K // vinían FK: vinién M // e  
FK: om. M
- 168] e FM: om. K // \* posando en MK:  
passando por F // otro día F: en la  
M; om. K // mañana FM: om. K
- 168-69] pudieron mover las reliquias F:  
las pudieron mover M; las podieron  
ende mover K
- 169] ende F: y MK // dellas F: de las  
reliquias M; om. K

## La vida de Sant George (*h*)

Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El  
Escorial h-I-14, fols 91<sup>va</sup>-95<sup>ra</sup>

Capítulo XXXIX. De la vida de Sant George

[fol. 91<sup>va</sup>] Sant George fue infançon muy noble e era natural de Capadocia. E vino a una cibdat *que* dezían Silena. E acerca desta cibdat estava una laguna muy grande *que* semejava mar, e yazía en ella un dragón muy grande e muy malo. E *tan* fuerte era *que* muchas  
5 vegadas venía todo el pueblo armado contra él, e fazíalos todos fuyr, e yva en pos ellos fasta el muro de la cerca de la cibdat, e enpoçoñava el ayre con el bafo e matava a muchos. E por ende avíanle a dar cada día ovejas *que* comiese por *que* amansase su saña. E el día *que* ge lo *non* davan, venía fasta la cerca de la cibdat, e enponçoñava el ayre como es  
10 dicho, e murían muchos.

E falleciendo ya las ovejas en aquella tierra, ovieron postura todos entre sí *que* le diesen cada día una oveja e un omne. [fol. 92<sup>ra</sup>] E acordaron *que* echasen suertes sobre los fijos e las fijas de todos, quál los echaría primero, e adó cupiese la suerte, *que non* fincase ninguno  
15 fasta *que* todos fuesen comidos. E acaesció un día *que* cayó la suerte sobre la fija del rey, e judgaron *que* ge la echasen. E estonce fue el rey muy triste, e dixo al pueblo: ‘Amigos, tomat oro e plata e la meytad del mi regno, e dexatme la mi fija *que non* muera en tal manera.’ E respondió el pueblo muy sañudamente, e díxole: ‘Tú, rey, pusiste este  
20 estatuto, e agora pues *que* son muertos los *nuestros* fijos, tú *quieres* librar la tu fija; e si esto *non* cumples en tu fija lo *que* fue en los *nuestros* fijos que tú ordenaste, mataremos a ti e a tu fija e a toda tu casa.’ E viendo el rey esto, començó de llorar muy fuertemente e dezir: ‘¡Ay, la mi fija, e el mi dulçor, e el mi coraçón e bordón de mi salut, e  
25 consolación de mi casa! ¿Qué faré agora, o qué diré, [fol. 92<sup>va</sup>] *que* ante *que* vea la tu boda veré la tu muerte?’ E torrnóse otra vegada al pueblo e díxole: ‘Ruégovos *que* me dedes ocho días de plazo por *que* pueda llorar la mi fija.’ E otorgárongelo.

E a cabo de los siete días tornaron a él el pueblo muy sañudos,  
30 e dixiéronle: ‘¿Por *qué* *quieres* *que* se pierda el pueblo por tu fija?’ E estonce, viendo el rey *que non* podía escapar con su fija, vestióla con

vestiduras reales, e abraçávala e besávala, e llorava muy fuertemente, e dezía: 'Ay, la mi fija mucho dulce, ¿qué criazón mala crié en ti tanto tiempo ha, para yo ver agora tales bodas de ti? ¡Ay, llaga del mi cuerpo  
35 *que* nunca sanará! Ca, fija, yo cuydava criar los tus fijos, e agora dásme fijos de dolores con los quales nunca se alegre mi alma, e agora liévante al dragón *que* te coma. ¡Ay, la mi fija dulce, yo cuydava conbidar los príncipes a las tus bodas, e fenchir los palacios de paños e de aljófar; e cuydava oír [fol. 92<sup>va</sup>] cítolas e vihuelas e todos los otros instrumentos!  
40 E agora oyré muchas amarguras e cobriré los mis palacios de mucho duelo, ca veo agora levar la mi fija al dragón *que* la coma.' E besóla, e díxole: 'Fija mía, Dios deviera ordenar *que* muriese yo ante *que* verte yo meter en la boca del dragón.' E estonce, la infante llorando muy fuertemente, echóse a los pies del padre e demandóle *que* le diese la su  
45 bendición. E bendíxola con muchas lágrimas. E después fuése con ella fasta el lugar do estava el dragón.

E estonce pasava por ý Sant George encima de un cavallo, e vióla como llorava la infante, e preguntóla *que* por qué llorava. E ella le dixo: 'Hermano, sube apriesa en tu cavallo e vete, e non mueras aquí  
50 conmigo mala muerte.' E estonce dixo Sant George: 'Non ayas miedo, mi fija, mas dime qué has o qué fazes aquí, *que* te está esperando [fol. 92<sup>vb</sup>] aquella gente toda.' E díxole ella: 'Seméjame *que* eres mucho atrevido, pero yo te digo *que* fuyas de aquí apriesa por *que* non mueras aquí conmigo.' E díxole él: 'Sepas *que* non me partiré de aquí fasta *que*  
55 me digas qué has.' E luego contógelo ella todo. E díxole luego Sant Jorge: 'Fija, non ayas miedo, ca yo te ayudaré en el nonbre de Jhesu Christo.' E díxole ella: 'Cavallero, vete tu vía; non mueras aquí conmigo.'

E ellos estando así fablando, vieron venir el dragón, la cabeça alçada sobre el agua. E luego *que* le vio la infante, començó a tremar de miedo dél, e dixo a Sant George: '¡Señor bueno, fuye; non mueras  
60 aquí conmigo!' E luego *que* lo vio Sant George, armóse de unas armas *que* traía, todas pintadas a cruces, e subió sobre su cavallo. E aguijó luego para el dragón con grant atrevimiento, esgrimiendo muy fuertemente la lança. E [fol. 93<sup>ra</sup>] acomendóse a Dios e firió con la lança  
65 al dragón, e dióle un golpe muy fuerte, e luego fue ferido de muerte. E dixo luego Sant George a la infante: 'Señora, tomat la vuestra cinta e atátgela al cuello. E non dubdedes en ninguna cosa, fija.' E ella fízolo así. E el dragón yva con ellos e en pos ellos tan manso como cordero. E troxiéronlo a la cibdat.



70 E en este comedio estavan todos los de la cibdat, varones e mugeres, oteando sobre la cerca e en las alturas por ver *quando* saldría el dragón. E *quando* vieron al cavallero estar con la dueña, maravilláronse mucho, ca bien sabían *que non* avía pariente nin amigo *que* allí osase estar. E Sant Jorge e la infante troxieron el dragón *para* la villa, e él venía en pos ellos muy mansamente. E los de la cibdat, *quando* vieron traer el dragón, fuyeron todos de la cibdat, desde el mayor fasta el menor, a los montes, cuydando ser perescidos, diziendo: 'Ay, mezquinos, ¿dó nos meteremos? ¡Ca [fol. 93<sup>th</sup>] perescidos somos!' E estonce Sant George fizo la señal de la cruz e díxoles: 'Non  
80 ayades miedo, ca sabet *que* por eso me enbió Dios acá, por *que* vos *guardase* de las penas del dragón.' E luego el rey e todo el pueblo se tornaron a Dios e se bautizaron. E sacó estonce Sant George la espada, e cortó la cabeça al dragón, e mandó *que* le echasen fuera de la cibdat; e truxieron *quatro* pares de bueys *que* ovieron farto *que* echar en el  
85 fuera de la cibdat.

E bautizáronse en *aquel* día veynte mill omnes e mugeres, sin los niños pequeños. E el rey fizo y un monesterio a honrra de Santa María e de Sant George, de cuyo altar manava una fuente muy noble *que* sanava a todos los *que* bevían del agua *que* *aquella* fuente manava de  
90 *qualquier* enfermedat. E el rey ofresció muchos dineros a Sant George, e Sant George *non* los *quiso* tomar, mas mandólos dar a los pobres. E mandó fazer al rey *quatro* cosas por *que* sirviese a Dios: la primera, *que* oviese cuydado de los pobres e de las eglesias; la [fol. 93<sup>va</sup>] segunda, *que* onrrase los sacerdotes; la iij, *que* oyese muy devotamente las oras; la  
95 *quarta*, *que* fiziese bien a las biudas e a los huérfanos e a su regno. E desende dióle paz, e partióse dende del rey.

E en *aquel* tiempo, siendo enperadores Diocleciano e Maximiano, e Daciano adelantado, *tan* grande fue la persecución de los *Christianos* *que* en un mes fueron muertos más de diez e siete mill *Christianos*. E  
100 éstos por cuento, e todos fueron mártires. E tantas maneras de tormentos les davan *que* muchos de ellos fuýan de la fe e sacrificavan los ýdolos. E viendo esto Sant George, ovo muy grant pesar por ello en su coraçón. E todo *quanto* avía diólo a los pobres, e echó de sí la cavallería e desanparóla. E tomó hábito de religioso e púsose en medio  
105 dellos, e dixo: '¡Todos los ýdolos de los gentiles son diablos e Jhesu Christo fizo los cielos!' E estonce el adelantado, *quando* esto oyó, fue muy sañudo e vino *para* él, e preguntóle e díxole: '¿Cómo fuste tú

agora osado en llamar a los *nuestros* dioses diablos? E di de dónde eres, e cómo te dizen.’ E respondió Sant [fol. 93<sup>vb</sup>] George e díxole: ‘Yo  
110 só fijo dalgo e dizenme George, e só natural de Capadocia; e guiándome Dios vine a *tierra* de Palestina, e todo lo *que* avía desanparé por amor de Jhesu Christo por *que* le podiese mejor servir.’ E el adelantado *non* le pudo vencer por promesas *nin* por otra manera, e mandóle atar las manos e despedaçar todo mienbro por mienbro. E  
115 mandóle poner fachas ardientes a los costados por *que* se le paresciesen las entrañas. E mandóle fregar las llagas con sal. E en esa noche *que* le dieron el tormento, aparecióle Jhesu Christo con muy grant lunbre, e conortóle muy dulcemente. E en tal manera fue conortado con la visión de Dios, *que non* tenía ya pena ninguna.

120 E viendo Daciano *que* le non podía enpescer, fizo venir un encantador ante sí, e díxole: ‘Estos *Christianos*, con sus encantamentos, *non* precian nada los *nuestros* tormentos, e menosprecian los sacrificios de los *nuestros* dioses.’ E díxole aquel encantador al adelantado: ‘Si yo *non* le matare, degollarme he por ello.’ E el  
125 encantador, [fol. 94<sup>ra</sup>] faziendo sus maleficios e llamando a los sus dioses, tomó venino e mezclólo con vino, e diéronlo a beber a Sant George; e él santigólo e beviólo, e nunca le fizo mal. E el encantador, viendo esto, echóse a sus pies de Sant George, llorando de los ojos. E demandóle *perdón*, e bautizóse. E el adelantado mandó luego degollar  
130 al encantador.

E otro día mandó a Sant George poner en una rueda llena de cuchillos agudos de amar partes, mas luego se *quebró* la rueda e *non* fizo mal a Sant George. E el adelantado fue muy sañudo e mandóle meter en una sartén llena de plomo ferviente. Sant George santigóla e  
135 entró en ella, e con la virtud de la cruz *non* le enpesció. E viendo esto el adelantado, *que* estava en medio de la sartén llena de plomo regalado como *quien* está en buen vaño, e *que* le non enpescía a Sant George, pensó el adelantado [fol. 94<sup>rb</sup>] en *qué* manera lo podría enpescer e vencer por falagos, pues *que non* lo podía vencer por amenazas. E  
140 començóle a falagar, diziendo: ‘Vos, fijo George, parad mientes cómo vos aman los *nuestros* dioses, *que* maguera *que* los vos denostades, aún súfrenvos con grant paciencia; e *quiérenvos* *perdonar* si vos tornáredes a ellos. E por ende, mio fijo dulce, fazet lo *que* vos mando, e dexat la locura *que* tenedes de los *Christianos*; e tornad a ellos e  
145 sacrificatlos por tal *que* rescibades grant galardón dellos.’ E Sant

George, riéndose, respondióle e díxole: ‘¿Por *qué non* me falagueste así de *primero*? Ca así lo devieras de fazer, e *non* me atormentar. E *quiero* fazer *quánto* me mandas.’

E Daciano fue mucho escarnecido por esta respuesta, e echó  
150 pregón *que* todos viniesen a él, e *que* verían cómo George, *que* era  
rebelles, cómo *quería* sacrificar. E todos los de la cibdat fueron pagados  
e yvan allá con plazer. E estando todos ayuntados por ver cómo [fol.  
94<sup>va</sup>] adoraría a los ydolos con grant alegría, e Sant George entró dentro  
en el templo e fincó los ynojos; e rogó a Dios *que* destruyese *aquel*  
155 templo, e *que non* fincase dél cosa, por *que* Dios fuese loado e el pueblo  
convertido. E luego descendió fuego del cielo e quemó todo el templo  
con sus ydolos e con sus sacerdotes; e los sacerdotes *que* fueron,  
abrióse la tierra e sumiéronse. E por ende, alabando Sant Ambrosio tal  
cavallero de Jhesu Christo, dixo: ‘¡O bienaventurado el buen lidiador de  
160 Dios, *que* las promessas del rey terrenal *non* lo pudieron trastornar, mas  
engañó al persiguidor, e todos los ydolos echó a mal en los abismos!’

E oyéndolo Daciano, fizolo traer ante sí. E díxole: ‘Omne malo,  
¿*qué* son estos tus maleficios? ¿Por *qué* feziste a tan grant trayción?’ E  
díxole Sant George: ‘Adelantado, *non* creas *que* así es fecho, mas ve  
165 conmigo e verme has fazer sacrificio otra vegada.’ E díxole: ‘¿Non  
puede ser *que* tú me engañes por *que* me lieves allá para *que* me [fol.  
94<sup>vb</sup>] fagas como a los sacerdotes e como al templo, *que* me sorba la  
tierra?’ E díxole Sant George: ‘¡Mezquino de omne! Dime, pues *que* los  
tus dioses *non* pueden ayudar a sí, ¿cómo ayudarán a ti?’ E el  
170 adelantado fue muy sañudo, e fué para su muger Alixandria e díxole:  
‘Dígotte *que* moriré fallescido, ca veo *que* me desonrra este omne.’ E  
díxole ella: ‘¡Coraçón cruel e malo e traydor! ¿Non te dixes muchas  
vezes: *non* quieras fazer mal a los *Christianos*, ca sabes *que* el su Dios  
lidia por ellos? E sepas agora que *quiero* ser *Christiana*.’ E el  
175 adelantado fue muy sañudo, e maravillándose mucho, dixo: ‘¡E tú  
engañada eres!’ E fizola colgar por los cabellos e açotarla mucho  
cruelmente. E mientras *que* la levavan para atormentarla más, vio a Sant  
George, e preguntóle: ‘Señor George, lunbre de verdat, ¿*qué* cuydas  
*que* faga? ¿O dó asmas do yré, ca *non* só bautizada?’ E respondió Sant  
180 George e díxole: ‘Fija de Dios, *non* themas, ca sepas *que* el tu bautismo  
será en la tu sangre, e *non* dubdes en ninguna [fol. 95<sup>ra</sup>] manera, ca sepas  
*que* serás coronada.’ E estonces, ella rogando a Dios, saliósele el alma  
del cuerpo.

E otro día dieron tal *sentencia* contra George *que* le arrastrasen  
 185 por toda la cibdat, e después, *que* le descabesçasen. Empero rogó a  
 Dios que todos aquéllos que le demandasen su ayuda, que lo ganasen  
 de Dios. E vino una boz de Dios a él e díxole *que* así lo farié como él  
 lo rogava. E fecha la oración, descabesçáronle. E tornándose Daciano  
 del lugar do fue descabesçado, vino fuego del cielo e mató a él e a  
 190 quantos con él yvan. E cuenta Sant Grigorio *que* levando unos omnes  
 sus reliquias de Sant George, e pasando por una egleja, en la mañana  
 non se podieron mover de allí fasta *que* dexaron y su parte dellas.

### Critical Apparatus

36] quales : guals *ms*

126] vino : venino e con vino *ms*

149] mucho escarnecido : mucho *ms*

169] dioses : dios *ms*

181] dubdes en *ninguna* : present in  
 catchword, but not in main body of  
 text of either folio

## La vida de Sant Jorge (M)

Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El  
Escorial M-II-6, fols 41v-44v

La vida de Sant Jorge, el qual era natural de la cibdad de Capadocia

Sant Jorge, muy noble infançón, era natural de Capadocia. E vino a una cibdad *que* dizían Silena. E cerca de aquella cibdad avía una grand laguna *que* semejava mar, e estava hí un dragón muy grande e muy fuerte. E muchas vegadas fazía foyr el pueblo, *que* venían  
5 armados *contra* él, e *quando* se llegava al muro de la cibdad enpeçoñava el ayre *con* su baho, e a todas las gentes. E dávanle ovejas *que* comiesse por *que* amatasse su saña, e *quando non* ge las davan, llegávase al muro e enpeçoñava los omnes *con* su baho, e matava muchos dellos.

10 E falleciendo las ovejas, ovieron su acuerdo los omnes de la cibdad: *que* diesen una oveja o un omne o muger. E echando suertes sobre los fijos e hijas, dó cayesse la suerte *que* luego lo echasen al dragón *que* lo comiesse. E cayó la suerte sobre la fija [fol. 42] del rey, e fue juzgada *que* la diessen al dragón. E el rey fue muy triste e dixo:  
15 ‘Tomad oro e plata e la meytad del mi reyno, e dexad la mi fija *que non* muera de tal manera.’ E respondió el pueblo muy sañudamente: ‘Tú, rey, feziste este derecho, e agora *que* todos *nuestros* fijos son muertos, *quieres* librar tu fija; e si tú *non* lo *complieres* lo *que* ordenaste por *que* murieron *nuestros* fijos, matarte hemos a ti e a tu fija.’ E veyendo el rey  
20 *que* lo *non* podía escusar, començó a dezir *con* grand pesar: ‘¡Ay, la mi fija muy dulce! ¿*Qué* faré agora o *qué* diré, *que* ante veré tu muerte *que* tus bodas?’ E tornósse al pueblo e rogóles *quel* diessen plazo de ocho días *para que* pudiesse llorar su fija. E otorgárongelo.

E a cabo de los ocho días vino el pueblo muy sañudo, diziendo:  
25 ‘¿Por *qué* *quieres que* perescamos todos por tu fija, *que* todos morimos *con* el baho del dragón?’ E *quando* vio el rey *que non* podía librar su fija, vistióla de paños de reyna, e abraçávala e besávala, e llorrava, e dizía: ‘¡Ay, la mi fija, cuydava convidar príncipes a las tus bodas e fenchir el palacio de aljófar e de piedras *preciosas*, e de oír alegrías e  
30 instrumentos! E agora liévote a echar al dragón. E Dios otorgasse *que* yo muriesse ante *que* esto viesse.’ E ella echóse a los pies de su padre e

demandól su bendición. E el padre bendíxola *con* muchas lágrimas. E fue *con* ella fasta el lugar del dragón. E dexóla hí, e él tornósse *con* grand pesar. E fincó la donzella llorando.

- 35 E vino Sant Jorge encima de su ca|vallo [fol. 42<sup>v</sup>] e preguntóla *qué* avía e *qué* fazía allí. E ella dixo: ‘Hermano, sube en tu cavallo e vete; *non* mueras *aquí* conmigo.’ E él dixo: ‘*Non* ayas miedo, fija, mas dime *qué* fazen allí, o *qué* esperan *aquella* gente.’ E dixo ella: ‘Seméjame muy atrevido. ¿Por *qué* *quieres* *aquí* morir conmigo? E fuye *apriessa*.’ E  
40 dixo George: ‘*Non* partiré de ti fasta *que* me digas más.’ E ella contógelo todo. E díxol George: ‘Fija, *non* ayas miedo, ca yo te ayudaré en *el* nonbre del mi Señor Jhesu Christo.’ E díxol ella: ‘Cavallero, ve tu carrera, e *non* perezcas *aquí* conmigo.’

- E *mientras* él esto fablava, hevos do venía el dragón, la cabeça  
45 alçada sobre el agua. E la infanta *con* miedo dixo: ‘¡Fuye, señor bueno, fuye aýna!’ E George subió en su cavallo, e fue *contra* el dragón *que* venía *contra* él muy atrevidamente, faziendo la señal de la cruz. E esgrimió la lança fuertemente, e firiól de *guissa* *que* dio *con* él en tierra. E dixo a la infante: ‘Toma tu cinta e échagela al cuello, e *non* ayas  
50 miedo.’ E ella fízolo assí. E el dragón seguro e manso, tróxolo a la cibdad.

- E los de la cibdad, *quando* esto vieron, començaron de foyr por los montes e por las altezas, dando bozes e dizían: ‘¡El día de oy seremos todos destragados e comidos deste dragón!’ E Sant Jorge  
55 llamólos a todos e díxoles: ‘*Non* ayades miedo, *que* por esso me enbió Dios acá, por *que* los librasse del peligro del dragón.’ E luego el rey e todo el pueblo bautizáronse. E Sant Jorge sacó el espada e mató al dragón, e mandól echar fuera de la villa; e troxeron *quatro* pares de bueyes, e echáronlo en un campo fuera de la cibdad.

- 60 E en *aquel* día se bautizaron veynte mill omnes, sin los niños e las mugeres. E el rey fizo hí una iglesia a honrra de la Virgen Santa [fol. 43<sup>v</sup>] María e de Sant Jorge, del *qual* altar mana una fuente de agua muy clara *que* sana los enfermos *que* della beven. E el rey ofreció muchos dineros a Sant Jorge, mas él *non* los *quiso* tomar, mas mandólos dar a  
65 los pobres. E Sant Jorge mostró al rey *quatro* cosas: *que* oviesse cuydado de los pobres, e de las iglesias de Dios, e *que* honrrasse los sacerdotes dellas, e *que* oyesse mucho bien los oficios de Dios. E assí dándole paz, partiósse dél.

E en *aquel* tiempo, seyendo enperadores Diocleciano e

70 Maximiano, e Daciano adelantado, e tan grande fue la persecución de  
los *Christianos* que en un mes fueron mártires bien diez e siete mill  
omnes. Onde tantos tormentos fallecían muchos de la fe, e sacrificavan  
los ydolos. E veyendo esto Sant Jorge, ovo grand pesar en su coraçón.  
E todo lo que avía diólo a los pobres, e dexó la cavallería. E tomó  
75 ábito de religioso e púsose en medio dellos, llamando: '¡Todos los  
gentiles son diablos, e Jhesu Christo fizo los cielos!' E díxol el  
adelantado: '¿Cómo fuste osado de llamar a los *nuestros* diosses  
diablos? E dinos dónde eres o cómo te dizen.' E respondió George: 'A  
mí dizen George, e só omne fidalgo de tierra de Capadocia; e  
80 guiándome Jhesu Christo vin a Palestina, mas todo lo desanparé por que  
sirviesse mejor al mi Señor Jhesu Christo.' E el adelantado, non le  
pudiendo vencer, mandóle aspar e despedaçar todo miembro por  
miembro, e ponerle fachas encendidas al costado fasta quel parecían las  
entrañas. E mandól fregar las llagas con sal. E essa noche, apareciól  
85 Jhesu Christo con grand lunbre, e conortól dulcemente. E en tal manera  
fue conortado con esta fabla e con esta visión, que non dava nada por  
los tormentos.

E veyendo Daciano que lo non podía vencer, fizo venir un  
encantador, e díxol: 'Los *Christianos* [fol. 43'] con encantamentos non  
90 precian nada *nuestros* tormentos, e menosprecian los sacrificios de los  
*nuestros* diosses.' E díxol el encantador: 'Si lo yo non venciere,  
degolladme.' E él, con sus maleficios, llamando sus diosses, mezcló el  
veneno con vino, e diógelo a beber; e non le fizo ningunt mal. E diól  
otra vegada otro más fuerte, e non le enpeció ninguna cosa. E el  
95 encantador, veyendo esto, echóse a sus pies de Sant Jorge, llorando  
con muchas lágrimas de sus ojos. E demandól perdón, e rogól quel  
fiziesse *Christiano*. E mandól degollar luego el adelantado.

E otro día mandó poner a George en una rueda de cuchillos  
agudos de amas partes, mas luego quebró la rueda e fallaron a George  
100 sano. E el juez muy sañudo mandól echar en una caldera de plomo  
regalado. E él fizo la señal de la cruz, e estava dentro en ello como si  
estudiesse en un vaño. E veyendo esto Daciano, asmólo vencer con  
falagos, pues non podía con tormentos. E díxol: 'Fijo George, qué  
mansos son estos *nuestros* dioses contra ti, que tan mal los blasfemaste,  
105 e súfrente con paciencia; e quiérente perdonar si te tornares a ellos. E  
por ende, mi fijo dulce, faz lo que te yo mando, e dexa esta locura que  
tienes de los *Christianos*; e tórnate a ellos e sacríficelos por tal que

dellos e de nos recibas grande honrra.' E díxol George como riendo:  
'¿Por *qué* non me falagaste luego assí en lo primero? *Que* assí lo  
110 devieras fazer e me atormentar. E evas *que* quiero fazer todo *quánto*  
dizes.'

E por ende Daciano, escarnecido con esta tal promessa, mandó  
*que* todos viniessen allí e verían cómo sacrificava George, *que* era  
rebelle. E todos los de la cibdad vinieron allí con grand alegría a ver  
115 cómo sacrificava George los ydolos. E George fincó los finojos, e [fol.  
44<sup>r</sup>] rogó a Dios *que* destruyesse los ydolos e el templo, en manera *que*  
non fincasse nada dél, por *que* él fuesse alabado e el pueblo convertido.  
E luego en aquella ora decendió fuego del cielo *que* quemó los ydolos  
con sus sacerdotes; e abrióse la tierra e tragó a los *que* fincaron dellos.  
120 E por ende, alabando Sant Ambrosio, dixo: '¡El bienaventurado noble  
lídiador de Dios, *que* las promesas del rey terrenal non le pudieron  
trastornar, mas engañado el perseguidor e todos los ydolos echó a mal  
en los abismos!'

E oyéndolo Daciano, fizoló traher ante sí. E díxol: '¡Omne  
125 malo! ¿*Qué* son estos tus maleficios, *que* feziste tan grande trayción?' E  
díxol George: 'Non creas *que* assí es fecho, mas ve comigo e verme has  
fazer sacrificio otra vegada.' E él le dixo: 'Entiendo el tu engaño *que*  
me *quieres* fazer, *que* me sorva la tierra como sorvió al templo.' E díxol  
George: 'Dime, mesquino, los tus diosses non pueden ayudar a sí  
130 ¿cómo ayudarán a ti?' E el adelantado dixo a su muger Allexandria:  
'Morré fallecido, ca veo *que* me desonrra este omne.' E díxol ella:  
'¡Corazón muy falso e cruel! ¿Non te dixes muchas vegadas *que* non  
quisiesses fazer mal a los *Christianos*, *que* el su Dios lidia por ellos? E  
dígotte agora *que* quiero ser *Christiana*.' E el adelantado muy sañado,  
135 dixo a su muger: '¡Tú engañada eres!' E fizola colgar de los cabellos, e  
açotarla muy cruelmente. E mientre la açotavan, dixo ella: 'George, tú  
*que* eres lumbre de verdad, ¿dó asmas *que* yré, *que* fino non bautizada?'  
E díxol George: 'Fija, non dubdes ninguna cosa, *que* en la tu sangre te  
bautizarás e serás coronada.' E ella, rogando a Dios, saliósele [fol. 44<sup>v</sup>]  
140 el alma.

E otro día dieron tal sentencia contra George *que* lo arrastrasen  
por toda la cibdad, e después, *quel* descabeçassen. E allí do lo levavan,  
rogó a Dios *que* todos aquéllos *que* obiessen menester su ayuda, *que*  
Dios los acorriese. E luego vino una boz del cielo *que* dixo *que* assí lo  
145 faría como él rogava. E fecha la oración, descabeçáronle. E tornándose



Daciano de aquel lugar do le mandó descabeçar, vino fuego del cielo  
que mató a él e *quantos yvan con él*. E acaesció *que unos omnes*  
tomaron seyz reliquias de Sant Jorge, e pasando por una iglesia, nunca  
de allí pudieron pasar fasta *que dexaron hí las reliquias de Sant Jorge*.

### Critical Apparatus

37] conmigo : *ee* conmigo *ms*

45] alçada : alcada *ms*

93] veneno con vino : vino con vino *ms*

129] a sí : a mí assí *ms*

138] sangre : sagre *ms*

## Sant Sebastián mártir

Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419 fols 18<sup>ra</sup>-20<sup>ra</sup> (*F*), with  
variants from Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 fols 11<sup>ra</sup>-12<sup>rb</sup> (*M*),  
Escorial K-II-12 fols 37<sup>vb</sup>-40<sup>rb</sup> (*K*).

### Sant Sebastián mártir

Sant Sevastián, cavallero, muy buen *Christiano*, nació en Narbona e era morador en Millán. E era muy amado de los enperadores Diocleciano e Maximiano, en tanto que era príncipe de los cavalleros. E mandávanle los enperadores que sienpre estoviesse  
5 ante ellos. E traía manto de cavallero por que conortasse los *Christianos que* fallecién *quando* los atormentavan.

E demientra que Marceliano e Marco, amos hermanos nascidos de un vientre, omnes muy nobles, querían ser descabeçados por amor de Jhesu *Christo*, vinieron todos sus parientes a ellos por tal *que* non  
10 tomassen esta pasión. E vino la madre rascada e messada, e mostrándoles los pechos dizía: ‘O fijos muy dulces, muy grand mesquindat e muy grand lloro me cerca enderredor. ¡Ay mesquina! ¿Por qué pierdo mis fijos, que van de grado a la muerte? E sy por aventura los enemigos los levassen, yo yría entre ellos por medio de la  
15 hueste a arebatarlos. E aún sy los judgassen por fuer|ça [fol. 18<sup>rb</sup>] a la muerte, yo, aunque sopiese morir, quebrantaría la cárcel. Ésta es manera nueva de perescer, en que ruegan al matador que fiera, ca desean partirse de la vida, e cobdician la muerte que venga. ¡Ay qué lloro nuevo e nueva mesquindat en que se pierde de grado la mancebía  
20 de los mis fijos, en *que* la vejedat mesquina de mí e de su padre non sé en *que* biva se encubre *que* biva!’

E esto diziendo la madre, ahevos do traían en las manos los vassallos a su padre muy viejo, la cabeça llena de polvo e dando estas bozes contra el cielo: ‘Vengo dezir saludes a mis fijos que van de  
25 grado a morir. E por que yo, desaventurado, despienda en el enterramiento de los mis fijos lo que tenía para mí. O fijos, blago de la mi vejez e lunbre de los mis ojos, ¿por qué amades tanto la muerte? Venid acá, viejos, llorad sobre estos mancebos que perescen de grado. Venid acá, los ancianos, e llorad conmigo sobre los mis fijos. Los mis

30 ojos cegad e desfallescet llorando, en tal que non veades descabesçar los mis fijos.’

E el padre diziendo esto, vinieron las sus mugeres, e traían los fijos delante, llorando a grandes bozes e dizían: ‘¿A *quién* nos dexades, o *quiénes* serán señores destos infantes? ¿E *quién* *partirá* las *vuestras* heredades que vos *avedes* grandes? ¡O Dios, qué *crueldat* e *qué* *cruelles* sodes! Ca despreciades el padre e la madre, que *non* dades nada por ellos *nin* por las mugeres, e echades los fijos de vos, e ydes de grado a la muerte.’

E oyendo tales cosas [fol. 18<sup>va</sup>] como éstas, *ývanse* venciendo. 40 Estonce Sant Sebastián, que era ende a la sazón, levantóse en medio e dixo: ‘O cavalleros de *Jhesu Christo* muy fuertes, *non* querades *perder* la corona que sienpre ha de durar por estos falagos captivos e mesquinos.’ Mas dixo a los parientes: ‘Non ayades miedo, que non se *partirán* de vos, mas van vos aparejar las casas e las moradas del cielo. 45 Ca del comienço del mundo, esta vida engaña a los que fían en ella, e así non dio cosa cierta a ninguno, por *que* devemos creer que es mentirosa. Ca amonesta al ladrón que furte, e a la saña que sea cruel; engaña al engañador, e faze pecar al *omne*, e adúzele a las cosas suzias. Mas esta *persecución* que aquí sofrimos, oy paresce e cras non es 50 nada. Oy se enciende e cras se enfría, e non dura más de una ora. Mas el dolor que sienpre ha de durar, sienpre se renueva e crece, por que más *enpezca*, *enciéndese* por que más atormente. E por ende ofrescémosnos *para* rescebir *martirio* por amor de Dios, ca en esto se vence el diablo. Ca en tanto que prende, es preso; e en tanto que tiene, 55 es vencido. E en tanto que atormenta, es atormentado; e en tanto que deguella, es degollado, e en tanto que escarnesce, es escarnescido.’

E Sant Sevastián predicando aquestas cosas, ahevos la muger de Nicostrato, en cuya casa guardavan los santos, la *qual* *non* fablava, e echósse a [fol. 18<sup>vb</sup>] sus pies llorando, e demandava *perdón* por señas. 60 Estonce dixo Sant Sevastián: ‘Sy yo só siervo de *Jhesu Christo*, e sy verdat es lo que esta muger oyó de mi boca e creyó, abra Dios la su boca, que abrió la de Zacarías *propheta*.’ E diziendo esto, dixo la muger a grandes bozes: ‘¡Bendita sea la palabra de la tu boca, e bendictos sean los que creen lo que tú dizes! Ca vi el ángel que tenía el 65 libro delante ty abierto, do eran *escriptas* todas las cosas que tú dizías.’

E su marido oyendo esto, cayó a los pies de Sant Sebastián e demandóle *perdón*, e a la sazón soltó a los *mártires* e rogáales que

fuesen a buena ventura, los *quales* dixieron que por ninguna cosa non desanparién lo *que* avían començado. E por ende, *tan* grand gracia e  
70 tan grand virtud pusiera Dios en los verbos de Sant Sevastián que non solamente esforzó a Marceliano e a Marcho que rescibiessen *martirio*, mas convertió a la fe a su padre que dizían Tranquelino e a su madre con otras muchas mugeres, los *quales* baptizó Policarpio.

E Tranquilino, que era muy mal enfermo, luego que fue  
75 baptizado, luego fue sano. E otro senador de Roma, que era otrosí mal enfermo, rogó a Tranquilino que lo traxiesse a *aquel* que lo sanara. E viniendo a él Policarpio el sacerdote, rogávale que lo sanasse. E díxole Sebastián *que* negasse [fol. 19<sup>m</sup>] *primeramente* los ydolos e *que* le dicesse poderío de los quebrantar, e que sería luego sano. E dixo Cromaciano el *alcalde* que lo farían sus vassallos. E díxole Sebastián:  
80 ‘Los medrosos temen quebrantar los sus dioses, mas sy por esta razón el diablo les fiziesse mal, que fuesse él por ende alevoso.’ E así Sebastián e Policarpio quebrantaron más de dozientos ydolos. Mas Cromaciano *non* fue sano.

E díxole Sebastián: ‘Pues *que* nos quebrantamos los ydolos, tú devieras ser sano. Mas cierto es que tú *non* crees como debes, e guardeste *algunos* ydolos.’ Entonce mostróle su *cámara* en que estava pintada la disciplina de las estrellas, e por que su padre e su madre gastaran más de dozientos quintales de oro, en esta *cámara* dizía lo  
90 que avía de venir. E díxole Sebastián: ‘En tanto que tovieres este thesoro, non avrás sanidat.’

E queriéndole él otorgar *que* lo quebrantase, dixo Tiburcio su fijo: ‘Non consentiría *que* *tan* preciosa obra como ésta se destruya. Enpero por que tú *non* entiendas que yo *non* quiero la salud de mi  
95 padre, enciendan dos hornos, e sy destruyendo esta obra non fuere luego sano mi padre, que vos *quemen* a amos bivos, a ty e a Policarpio bivos.’ E dixo Sant Sebastián: ‘Sea como tú dizes.’ E demientra que destruyeron aquella obra, apares|cióle [fol. 19<sup>m</sup>] el ángel al padre e díxole que lo sanava Jhesu Christo. E luego fue sano. E fue besar los  
100 pies a Sant Sebastián, e él non lo quiso sufrir. E así su fijo Tiburcio e mill e *quatrocientos* omnes de su *compaña* fueron luego baptizados.

E teniendo los gentiles a la muger sobredicha e atormentándola, murió e fuésse *para* *paraíso*. E oyéndolo Tranquilino, dixo: ‘¡Las mugeres se van ante nos a *paraíso*! E nos, ¿*para* qué  
105 bivimos?’ E a pocos de días fue apedreado por amor de Jhesu Christo.

E asý fue ordenado que pusiessen a Sant Tiburcio sobre las brasas encendidas por tal que adorasse los ýdolos o que andoviesse descalço sobre ellas. E él *santiguósse* e entró muy osadamente e andudo descalço sobre ellas diziendo: 'Parésceme que ando sobre  
110 flores de rosas en el nonbre de Dios.' E dixo Fabiano *alcalde*: 'Non ay dubda que Jhesu *Christo* vos *mostró* a encantar.' E dixo Tiburcio: 'Calla, mesquino, ca non te *conviene* *fablar* nin nonbrar nonbre tan *sancto* e tan dulce.'

Entonce ensañóse Fabiano e mandó degollar a Marceliano e a  
115 Marcho, e fizo que los atassen a un madero. E ellos estando así, començaron de alabar a Dios. E díxoles el adelantado: 'Malandantes, ¡dexad esta locura e libradvos della!' E ellos dixieron: 'Sepas que nunca tan bien nos fue, e póngate Dios en coraçón, que nos dexes asý estar en tanto que bivamos.' Estonce el adelantado mandólos alancear. E así  
120 cumplieron su [fol. 19<sup>va</sup>] martirio.

E después desto el adelantado dixo mal de Sant Sevastián, e Diocleciano el enperador llamólo e díxole: 'Yo sienpre te tove entre los príncipes en el mío palacio, e andoviste encubiertamente fasta agora contra la mi salud e tortizando a los dioses.' E dixo Sevastián:  
125 'Yo rogué sienpre a Jhesu *Christo* por la tu salud, e rogué sienpre a Dios que es en el cielo por el estado del Enperio de Roma.'

Entonce Diocleciano mandólo ligar en medio del campo e que lo asaetasen los cavalleros, e finchiéronlo todo de saetas en manera que parescía erizo. E fuéronse reyendo, pensando que era muerto. E fue  
130 en pocos días sano. E estando en un poyo en el palacio del enperador, enpesçó a reprehender a los enperadores *que* binían de fazer mal a los *Christianos*. E dixo el enperador: '¿Non es éste Sevastián que yo mandé matar el otro día a saetas?' E dixo Sevastián: 'Mi Señor me resucitó por tal que vos reprehenda de los males que fazedes a los *Christianos* siervos de Dios.' Entonce el enperador mandólo sostigar tanto fasta que dio el alma a Dios. E fizo echar el su cuerpo en una privada por tal *que* lo non fallassen los *Christianos*, nin lo honrrassen como a mártir. E Sant Sevastián apareció otra noche a Santa Lucía e mostróle el su cuerpo, e mandóle que lo enterrasse a los pies de los apóstoles, e  
140 así lo fizo.

E cuenta Sant Gregorio que una muger casada era en Toscana, e conbidáronla las otras que fuese *con* ellas a la consagración de la [fol. 19<sup>vb</sup>] ygleria de Sant Sevastián. E aquella noche ella cumplió su voluntad

- con su marido. E otro día de mañana fuése *para* la iglesia, aviendo más  
145 vergüença de los omnes que de Díos. E luego que entró en la iglesia do  
eran las reliquias de Sant Sevastián, tomóla el diablo e enpeçóla  
atormentar muy fuertemente ante todos. Entonce el capellán de la  
iglesia tomó una sávana de sobre el altar e cubrióla con ella. E a la  
sazón entró el diablo en el capellán. E sus amigos aduxieron la muger a  
150 los encantadores por tal *que* le sacassen el diablo del cuerpo. Mas  
luego que la començaron de conjurar, entraron en ella seys mill e  
quinientos e ochenta e seys diablos, e atormentáronla más que el uno.  
E un obispo que llamavan Fortunato, muy santo, rogó a Díos por ella,  
e fue sana.
- 155 E fallamos en las corónicas de los Lonbardos *que* en el tiempo  
del rey Unberto, en toda Ytalia avía una pestilencia de muerte que non  
podían *complir* a enterrar los omnes; mas mayormente era esta  
pestilencia en Roma e en Papia. E apareció entonce el ángel de Díos  
a muchos, e mandó al diablo *que* le siguiese, e levava en la mano un  
160 venablo *con* que firía e matava. E *quantas* vegadas firié en alguna cosa,  
tantos omnes matava. Estonce fue dicho a un omne de *parte* de Díos  
que non quedaría esta pestilencia fasta que fiziesen un altar de Sant  
Sevastián en Papia, en la yglesia de Sant Pedro. E después que lo  
fizieron, quedó la pestilencia. E aduxieron [fol. 20<sup>ra</sup>] de Roma las  
165 reliquias de Sant Sevastián.

## Critical Apparatus

- rubric] Sant Sebastián mártir *F*: [...] e  
los miraglos *que* fizo Sant Sabast[...]  
en su vida e lo *que* fizo Dios por él *M*  
; Título de Sant Sevastián *K*
- 1] cavallero *F*: cavallero era e *M*; fue  
cavallero e era *K* // nasció *F*:  
nasciera *M*; e nasció *K*
- 2] \* Millán *M*: Villán *F*; Millá *K*
- 5] traía *F*: trayé *MK* // *que* conortasse  
*FM*: conortar *K*
- 6] *que FM*: porque *K* // \* fallecién *MK*:  
fallesciesen *F* // \* atormentavan *MK*:  
tormentos *F*
- 7] Marceliano *FM*: Marciano *K* //  
Marco *FM*: Malço *K* // nascidos *F*:  
*om. MK*
- 8] omnes muy nobles *FM*: muy nobles  
omes *K* // querían *F*: querién *M*; *que*  
querían *K*
- 10] vino *FM*: venié *K* // rascada e  
messada *FM*: mesada e rascada *K*
- 10-11] e mostrándoles *FM*: *om. K*
- 11] los *FM*: sus *K* // dizía *F*: dizié *M*;  
e dezía *K* // fijos *FM*: mis fijos *K*
- 12] mesquindat e muy grand lloro *FM*:  
lloro e muy grant mesquindat *K*
- 13] qué *FM*: quién *K* // *que FM*: por  
qué *K* // e *F*: *om. MK*
- 15] arebatarlos *FM*: rebararlos *K* // aún  
*FM*: *om. K* // la *FM*: *om. K*
- 16] ésta es *FM*: en *K*
- 17] en *FM*: por *K*
- 18] partirse *FM*: de se patir *K* // ay qué  
*F*: aquí ay *M*; ay *K*
- 19] de grado *FM*: *om. K*
- 20] los mis *F*: los *M*; mis *K* // la  
vejedat mesquina *FM*: se viene la  
vededat *K* // de su *FK*: su *M*
- 20-21] \* non sé en *que* biva: se encubre  
*que* biva *FM*: en dezir *que* biva *K*
- 22] e *F*: *om. MK*
- 22-23] ahevos do traían en las manos  
los vassallos *F*: fevos do trayén en  
las manos los vasallos *M*; venían los  
vasallos e traían *K*
- 23] padre *FM*: padre sobraçado *K* //  
llena *FM*: cobierta *K* // estas *F*: *om.*  
*MK*
- 24] cielo *FM*: cielo deziendo *K* //  
vengo *FM*: *que* vengo *K* // van *FM*:  
vengan *K*
- 25] a *FM*: *om. K* // e *F*: *om. MK* //  
despienda *FM*: despenderé *K*
- 26] los *F*: *om. MK* // *que FM*: *que* yo *K*  
// mí *FM*: el mí *K* // o *FM*: e mis  
*K* // la *FM*: *om. K*
- 27] los *FM*: *om. K*
- 28] llorad *F*: e llorat *MK*
- 29] los *FM*: *om. K* // sobre los *F*: sobre  
*M*; los *K* // los *FM*: ay, los *K*
- 30] cegad e desfallescet *F*: fallecet *MK*  
// en tal *FM*: por *K*
- 30-31] descabesçar los mis fijos *F*: míos  
fijos descabeçar *M*; los mis fijos  
descabeçar *K*
- 32] e *FK*: *om. M* // sus *F*: *om. MK* // e  
traían *F*: trayendo *MK*
- 33] delante *FM*: *om. K* // llorando *FK*:  
e llorando *M* // e dizían *F*: *om. M*; e  
dezién *K* // dexades *FM*:  
acomendades *K*
- 34] quiénes *F*: quién *MK* // e *FK*: o *M*  
// partirá *FM*: serán partidores de *K*
- 35] heredades *FM*: riquezas *K* // *que*  
vos avedes *FM*: *om. K* // o Dios *F*:  
Dios *M*; ay varones *K* // qué  
crueldat e *F*: *om. MK*
- 35-36] qué crueles sodes *FM*: cómo  
sodes crueles *K*
- 36] *que FM*: e *K*
- 37] mugeres *FM*: vuestras mugeres *K*
- 40] era *FM*: estava *K* // ende *F*: y *MK*  
// medio *FM*: medio dellos *K*
- 41] \* dixo *MK*: dio *F*
- 42-43] sienpre ha de durar por estos  
falagos captivos e mesquinos *FM*:  
vos está aparejada del comienço del  
mundo para sienpre jamás, e por  
estos captivos e mesquinos de falagos  
*que* vos dan *K*
- 43] mas *FM*: e *K* // *que F*: *om. M*; ca *K*
- 44] del cielo *FM*: *om. K*
- 45] engaña *FM*: engañara *K* // fían en  
ella *F*: della fían *MK*
- 46] non *F*: nunca *MK* // devemos *FM*:  
devedes *K* // creer *FK*: tener e  
creyer *M*

- 47] mentirosa *F*: mintrosa *M*;  
mentiroso *K* // ca *F*: c *M*; e *K* //  
furte *F*: furta *M*; sea fuerte *K* // e *F*  
: *om. MK* // saña *FM*: sañal *K* // que  
*FM*: e *que K*
- 48] engañador, e *F*: engañador *MK*
- 49] sofrimos *FM*: sofrieren *K*
- 50] nada *FM*: ninguna cosa *K* // oy se  
enciende e cras se enfria *F*: oy se  
enciende e cras se esfia *M*; e es  
enfriada *K*
- 51] durar, sienpre *FK*: durar, todavía *M*  
// e *F*: *om. MK* // crece *FM*: cree *K*
- 52] más *FM*: *om. K* // enciéndose *F*:  
enciende *M*; entiéndose *K* // \* más  
*MK*: *om. F*
- 53] ofrecémosnos *FK*: esforcémosnos  
*M* // en *FM*: con *K*
- 54] ca en tanto *F*: *que* demiente *M*; ca  
demientra *K* // prende *FM*: piensa  
*que* prende *K* // en tanto *F*:  
demiente *MK* // tiene *FM*: cuyda  
*que* tiene *K*
- 55] vencido *FM*: tenido *K* // en tanto *F*  
: demiente *MK* // atormenta *FM*:  
piensa *que* atormenta *K* //  
atormentado *FM*: atormento *K*
- 55-56] e en tanto *que* deguella, es  
degollado *F*; demiente *que* deguella,  
es degollado *M*; *om. K*
- 56] e en tanto *F*: demiente *M*; e  
*quando* cuyda *K*
- 57] e *F*: demiente *que M*; e después *que*  
*K* // Sant *FM*: *om. K* // predicando  
*F*: predicó *MK* // aquestas *F*: estas  
*MK* // ahevos *FM*: afevos *Zoe K*
- 58] la qual *F*: *que MK*
- 59] llorando, e *F*: e llorando *MK*
- 60] dixo Sant Sevastián *F*: díxol Sant  
Savastián *M*; Sant Sevastián dixo *K*  
// Jhesu Christo *FM*: Dios *K*
- 61] oyó *FM*: dize *K* // mi *FM*: la mi *K*  
// e creyó *F*: e creó *M*; creó *K*
- 62] *que FM*: asý como *K* // propheta  
*FM*: el propheta *K*
- 64] creen lo *que F*: — *M*; *om. K*
- 64-65] ca vi el ángel *que* tenía el libro  
delante ty abierto, do eran escriptas  
todas las cosas *que* tú dizías *F*: — *M*  
; *om. K*
- 67] soltó a *F*: — *M*; sacó *K* //
- rogávales *F*: [...]vales *M*; rogóles *K*
- 68] fuesen *F*: fuese *M*; se fuesen *K* //  
los *quales FM*: e ellos *K* // cosa *F*:  
— *M*; manera *K*
- 69] \* desanparién *K*: — *M*;  
desmanparararían *F* // avían *F*: —  
*M*; avía *K* // començado. *E F*:  
[...]çado *M*; començado *K*
- 70] los verbos *F*: las [...]abras *M*; las  
palabras *K* // de *F*: — *M*; a *K*
- 71] solamente *F*: tan solamiente *MK* //  
esforzó *FM*: esforçava *K* //
- Marceliano *FM*: Sant Marcellino *K*  
// *que FM*: a *que K*
- 72] a la fe *F*: [...] la fe *M*; *om. K* //  
dizían *FK*: dizién *M*
- 73] muchas mugeres *F*: muchas *M*;  
mugeres *K* // los *F*: las *MK* //  
baptizó *FK*: bateó *M*
- 74] muy mal *FM*: *om. K*
- 75] baptizado *FK*: bateado *M* // luego  
*FK*: *om. M* // e otro *F*: el *M*; e el *K*
- 76] mal *FM*: *om. K* // traxiesse a *FK*:  
aduxiese *M* // aquél *FM*: quién *K* //  
*que lo F*: *quel M*; le *K*
- 77] viniendo *FM*: viendo *K* // a él *FM*:  
él a *K* // el sacerdote *FM*: *om. K* //  
rogávale *FM*: rogól *K*
- 78] díxole *FM*: dixo *K* // Sebastián *FM*  
: Sant Sevastián *K* // primeramente *F*  
: primamente *MK* // e *FM*: *om. K*
- 79] *que FK*: *om. M* // sería luego *F*:  
serié luego *M*; luego sería *K* // e *FM*  
: entonce *K* // dixo *FK*: díxol *M*
- 80] lo *FM*: los *K* // farían *FK*: ferrién  
*M* // vassallos *FK*: ~~vassallos~~ *M* // e *F*  
: *om. M*; entonce *K* // díxole *FM*:  
dixo *K* // Sebastián *FM*: Sant  
Savastián *K*
- 81] temen *FM*: non quieren *K* // dioses  
*F*: dios *M*; ydolos *K* // mas *FM*: e  
dixo *que K* // por *FM*: por aventura  
por *K*
- 82] \* les *K*: se *F*; le *M* // \* fuesse él *M*:  
fuesen *F*; fuese *K* // ende *FM*: ello  
*K* // \* alevoso *MK*: alevosos *F*
- 83] Sebastián e Policarpo *F*: Policarpo  
e Savastián *M*; Policarpo e Sant  
Sevastián *K* // quebrantaron *FM*:  
quebrantaron los *K*



- 84] fue sano FM : sanó K  
 85] díxole Sebastián FM : Sant Sevastián  
 le dixo K // \* pues *que* MK : pues F  
 86] ser sano FM : sanar K // que tú FK:  
 o tú *que* M // como debes F : tan  
 bien como debes M ; tan bien K // e  
 F : o M ; om. K  
 87] guardeste algunos ydolos FM : om. K  
 88] estrellas, e F : estrellas MK  
 89] gastaran F : espendieran M ;  
 espendieron K // en F : e en MK //  
 cámara FM : manera K // dizía F :  
 dizié M ; venién e dezían K // lo FM  
 : las cosas K  
 90] avía F : avié M ; avían K // e FK :  
 om. M // Sebastián FM : Sant  
 Savastián K // en tanto F : demientre  
 MK // tovieres FM : tú tovieres K  
 92] queriéndole F : queriendo M ;  
 queriéndolo K // quebrantase F :  
 quebrantasen MK  
 93] non F : non lo M ; *que* lo non K //  
 consentiría F : sufriría MK //  
 preciosa FM : hermosa e tan preciosa  
 K // destruya F : destruyse M ;  
 destroxiese K  
 94] por que tú non entiendas que yo non  
 F : *que* M ; om. K  
 95] enciendan F : e enciendan M ; enpero  
 enciendan K // dos FM : todos los K  
 // sy F : om. M ; *que* sy K // obra FK  
 : obra, si M  
 96] luego F : om. MK // mi padre FM :  
 om. K // a FM : om. K  
 96-97] a ty e a Policarpio bivos F : om.  
 MK  
 97] e dixo F : díxol M ; e díxol K // sant  
 FK : om. M // como F : así como  
 MK // e FK : om. M // demientra  
 que FM : en K  
 98] destruyeron F : destruyén M ;  
 estruyendo K // apares |cióle F :  
 apareció MK // al FM : a su K  
 100] e FM : enpero K // sufrir FK : fazer  
 nin sufrir M // así FM : por ende K  
 101] e quatrocientos F : ccc M ; e  
 trezientos K // omnes de su compañía  
 FM : cavalleros K // baptizados FK :  
 bateados M  
 102] e teniendo los gentiles a la muger  
 sobredicha F : Zoe, la dicha,  
 teniéndola los gentiles M ; e la dicha  
 Sohe, teniéndola los gentiles K  
 102-03] e atormentándola FM : *que* la  
 atormentavan K  
 103] murió F : muriós M ; finóse K //  
 para FK : a M  
 103-04] e oyéndolo Tranquilino, dixo  
 FM : om. K  
 104] las mugeres se van ante nos a  
 paraíso F : las mugeres se van ante  
 nos para paraíso M ; om. K  
 105] e FM : e dende K // de FK : om. M  
 // apedreado FM : Sant Sevastián  
 apedreado K // amor de FK : om. M  
 106] e asý fue ordenado F : ordenado  
 fue M ; e después desto fue ordenado  
 K // sant FM : om. K  
 107] encendidas FM : e encendidas K //  
 tal FM : om. K  
 108] \* descalço MK : om. F // él FM :  
 om. K // santiguósse F : sancigóse M ;  
 santiguándose K // e entró FM : om.  
 K // muy osadamente F : a osadas M  
 ; om. K // e FM : om. K  
 109] descalço FM : om. K // parésceme  
 F : seméjame MK  
 110] flores de rosas FM : fojas e sobre  
 rosas de lilios K // de FM : del mi K  
 // e F : om. M ; estonce K // dixo FK  
 : díxol M // Fabiano alcalde F : el  
 alcalde Faviano M ; el alcalde a  
 Fabián K // ay FM : ayas K  
 111] a FK : om. M // dixo F : díxol MK  
 112] ca F : *que* MK // fablar nin FM :  
 om. K  
 112-13] nonbre tan sancto FM : tan santo  
 nonbre K  
 114] Fabiano FM : el alcalde K //  
 mandó FK : mandól M // a FK : e a  
 M  
 115] e FK : om. M // fizo que los atassen  
 F : fizieron *que* los atasen M ;  
 fiziéronlos atar muy ayña K  
 116] díxoles FM : dezíales K  
 117] sepas F : om. MK  
 118] nos F : les MK // fue F : fuera MK  
 // e FM : e deziéndol K // póngate  
 F : métate MK  
 119] en tanto F : mientre M ; demientra  
 K // bivamos F : visqueremos M ;

- visquíeres *K* // alancear *F*: alançaer e  
saetar *M*; alçar *K*
- 121] e *FK*: *om. M* // dixo *FM*: dezía *K*  
// e *F*: a *M*; al *K*
- 122] Diocleciano el enperador *FM*:  
enperador Maximiano e el enperador  
*K* // llamólo *FK*: e llamól *M* // tove  
*FM*: sotove *K*
- 123] andoviste *FM*: tú sienpre  
andodiste *K* // encubiertamente *F*:  
encubierto *MK*
- 124] contra *FK*: *gontra M* // e  
tortizando *F*: e atortizando *M*;  
faziendo muy grant tuerto *K* //  
dioses *F*: dios *MK* // dixo *F*: díxol  
*MK* // Sevastián *FM*: Sant Sevastián  
*K*
- 125] rogué *F*: oré *M*; onrré *K* //  
siempre *FM*: *om. K* // a Jhesu Christo  
*FM*: al mi Señor Jhesu Christo *K*
- 126] el *FK*: *om. M* // \* Enperio *MK*:  
Roma Inperio *F*
- 127] del *FM*: de un *K*
- 127-28] que lo asaetasen los cavalleros *F*:  
quel saetasen los cavalleros *M*;  
mandó a los sus cavalleros quel  
asaetasen *K*
- 128] finchiéronlo *FK*: ynchiéronle *M*
- 129] parescía *F*: semejava *M*; non  
semejava ál synon *K* // fuéronse *FM*:  
fueron *K* // reyendo, pensando *F*:  
creyendo e sospechando *M*;  
sospechando *K* // era *FM*: fincava *K*
- 129-30] fue en pocos días sano *F*: fue  
sano en pocos días *M*; dende a  
pocos de días fue sano *K*
- 130] estando *FM*: estando después éste  
Sant Sevastián *K* // un *FM*: el *K* //  
poyo *FM*: *om. K* // \* en el palacio  
del enperador: del enperador palacio  
*F*; en el palacio *M*; palacio del  
enperador *K*
- 131] enpescó *FM*: comencó [sic] *K* // a  
los *F*: los *M*; al *K* // enperadores  
*FM*: enperador *K* // binían *F*: vinién  
*M*; venié *K*
- 132] dixo *FM*: díxol *K* // que *F*: — *M*;  
el que *K* // \* mandé *K*: madé *F*; —  
*M*
- 133] saetas *F*: — *M*; saetadas *K* // dixo  
*F*: — *M*; díxol *K* // Sevastián *F*: —  
*M*; Sant Sevastián *K* // mi *F*: — *M*;  
el mi *K* // Señor *F*: — *M*; Señor  
Jhesu Christo *K*
- 134] tal *F*: — *M*; *om. K*
- 135] sostigar tanto *F*: tanto sostiga[...]  
*M*; tanto sostigar *K*
- 136] alma *F*: — *M*; ánima *K* // su *F*:  
— *M*; *om. K* // \* privada *K*: cámara  
privada *F*; [...]ada *M*
- 137] tal *FM*: *om. K* // lo non *F*: non lo  
*MK* // honrrassen *F*: onrr[...] *M*;  
enterrassen *K*
- 138] Sant Sevastián aparesció otra noche  
*F*: [...]astián apareci[...]che *M*; la  
noche adelante aparesció Sant  
Sevastián *K*
- 139] su *FM*: *om. K* // mandóle *FK*:  
mandó *M* // que lo *F*: quel *M*; que le  
*K*
- 140] así lo fizo *FM*: ella fizolo asý *K*
- 141] e *F*: *om. MK* // una muger casada  
era *FM*: era una muger casada *K* //  
Toscana *FM*: Costava, un logar que  
asý era llamado *K*
- 142] conbidáronla *F*: [...]ronla *M*;  
conbidaron *K* // las otras *FM*: otras  
mugeres *K* // a la *F*: otro día a la *MK*
- 143] aquella noche ella *F*: ella aquella  
noche *MK* // cumplió *FM*: avía  
conplido *K*
- 144] e *F*: *om. MK* // para *FK*: a *M*
- 144-45] más vergüença de los omnes *F*:  
vergüença de los omnes más *M*; muy  
grant vergüença de los omnes, más *K*
- 145] e *F*: *om. MK*
- 146] enpeçóla *FM*: començóla *K*
- 147] atormentar muy fuertemente ante  
todos *F*: atormentar ante todos muy  
fuertemente *M*; ante todos de  
atormentar muy fuertemente *K*
- 148] tomó *FK*: tomando *M* // altar e  
*FK*: altar *M*
- 149] \* aduxieron la muger *M*:  
aduxiéronlo *F*; traxieron *K*
- 150] tal *F*: *om. MK* // que le *FM*: que los  
*K* // sacassen *FM*: sanasen e que les  
sacasen *K* // el diablo *FM*: los  
diablos *K* // del cuerpo *FM*: de los  
cuerpos *K* // mas *FM*: e *K*

- 151] la FM : lo K // de conjurar F : de  
encantar M ; los encantadores de  
demandar, luego K
- 152] quinientos e ochenta FM : setenta  
K // diablos FM : demonios K // e  
atorméntáronla FM : *que* la  
atorméntavan K // más FM : mucho  
más K // el FM : *non* K
- 153] llamavan F : dizían MK // muy FM  
: *omne* muy K
- 154] fue FM : luego fue K
- 155] e FM : *otrossý* K // Lonbardos FK :  
Longobardes M // el F : *om.* MK
- 156] Unberto FM : Roberto K // en  
toda Ytalia avía una pestilencia de  
muerte F : en toda Ytalia avié una  
pestilencia de muerte M ; avía una  
pestilencia en toda Ytalia de muerte  
*que* era en las gentes en tanto K
- 157] podían FK : *podién* M // *omnes*  
FM : cuerpos K // mas FM : e K //  
esta FM : *om.* K
- 158] entonces FM : *om.* K
- 159] levava FM : levava el diablo K
- 160] *con* que FK : e M // firía F : firíe  
MK
- 160-61] \* e quantas vegadas firíe en  
alguna cosa, tantos *omnes* matava M :  
*om.* F ; e quantas vegadas fería en  
alguna cosa, tantos *omes* matava K
- 161] parte FM : partes K
- 162] quedaría FK : *quedarié* M // esta  
FM : *aquella* K // de F : a MK
- 164] quedó FM : luego cesó K
- 165] de FM : a K

## La vida de Sant Savastián

Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El  
Escorial h-I-14, fols 43<sup>va</sup>-46<sup>ra</sup>

### Capítulo trezeno. De la vida de Sant Savastián

Sant Savastián era cavallero e muy buen *Christiano*, e nasciera en Narbona e era morador en Millán. E era mucho amado de los enperadores Diocleciano e Maximiano, tanto *que* era príncipe de los cavalleros. E mandávanle los enperadores Diocleciano e Maximiano  
5 *que* estudiase sienpre antellos. E traía manto de cavallero por *que* conortase los *Christianos* quando los atormentavan.

E mientra *que* Marceliano e Marcho, amos hermanos de un vientre, omnes muy nobles, *querían* ser descabeçados por amor de Jhesu *Christo*, vinieron todos los parientes a ellos por tal *que* non  
10 tomasen *aquella* pasión. E vino la madre mesada e rascada e sus pechos abiertos e diziendo estas palabras: '¡Ay mis fijos mucho dulces, ca muy grant *mezquindat* e grant llo-ro e muy grant dolor me cerca enderredor, *mezquina*, por mis fijos *que* pierdo, *que* [fol. 43<sup>vb</sup>] van de grado a la muerte! Ca si por aventura los levasen por fuerça, yo  
15 entraría por medio de la hueste e arrebatarlos ya de los enemigos con grant ravia. E aún si los judgasen por fuerça a muerte, e aunque supiese luego morir, *quebrantaría* la cárcel. Mas ellos están en manera de perescer, ca ruegan al matador *que* fiera; ca cobdician la muerte e aborrescen la vida. Amigos, *aquí* ay llo-ro nuevo e nueva *mezquindat*, e  
20 *que* se depar-te de grado la mancebía dellos a la ve-gedat de mí e de su padre. ¡*Mezquina*, non sé en *que* biva!'

E diziendo esto la madre, hevos do traían a su padre muy viejo los vasallos del rey, la su cabeça llena de polvo, dando grandes bozes e diziendo estas palabras: 'Salú-dovos, mis fijos, *que* ydes de grado a la  
25 muerte; lo *que* yo, desaventurado, despenderé en enterramiento de mis fijos lo *que* yo tenía para mi enterramiento. O mis fijos, bordón de la mi vegez e lunbre de mis ojos, ¿por *qué* amades tanto la muerte?' E dezía: 'Venit acá, viejos, e llorat con este viejo por estos fermosos mancebos *que* perescen de grado. Venit acá, los ancianos, e llorat  
30 conmigo. Ay, mis ojos fallescet, llorando [fol. 44<sup>ra</sup>] por tal *que* non veades

la muerte de mis hijos.'

35 E el padre diziendo esto, venían las mugeres dellos, *que* traían los sus hijos, llorando a grandes bozes e diziendo esto: '¿A *quién* dexades estos infantes, e *quién* serán padres dellos? ¿*Quién* partirá las *vuestras* heredades muchas *que* vos avedes? ¡Ay Dios, *qué* crueles sodes, *que* tanto despreciades el padre e la madre *que* non dades nada por ellos, *nin* por las mugeres, e echades los niños, *vuestros* hijos, de vos, e ydesvos de grado a la muerte!'

40 E ellos, oyendo tales cosas como éstas, yvanse ya venciendo. E estonce Sant Savastián, *que* yva y a la sazón, *que* vio *que* se vencían de los falagos mundanales, levantóse en medio dellos e dixo: 'O cavalleros de Jhesu Christo, estat muy fuertes e non querades perder la corona *que* sienpre ha de durar por estos falagos mezquinos e captivos, e non ayades miedo.' E dixo Sant Savastián a sus parientes: 'Non ayades  
45 miedo, ca non se *partirán* de vos, mas van a aparejar moradas *para* vos en el cielo. Ca [fol. 44<sup>rb</sup>] desde el comienço del mundo, esta vida sienpre engaña a los *que* della fían, ca nunca dixo cosa cierta a ninguno. E por ende devedes tener e creer *que* es mintrosa esta vida. Ca amonesta al ladrón *que* furte, e al engañador *que* sea cruel; e así faziendo trae al  
50 omne a las cosas suzias. Mas esta persecución *que* aquí sofrimos, *que* paresce oy e cras non es nada, oy se enciende, cras se enfría, e non dura más de una ora. Mas peor es el dolor *que* sienpre dura e cresce *para* atormentar más al omne. E por ende vos enforçat *para* tomar muerte, ca por esto se vence el diablo e por eso es preso. Ca mientra  
55 *que* le vencen es vencido, e mientra atormentan al omne, es él atormentado, e mientra al omne deguellan, él es degollado, e mientra escarnescen, es escarnecido.'

E entre tanto *que* Sant Savastián predicava estas palabras e otras semejantes de éstas, hevos la muger de Nicostrato, en cuya casa  
60 guardavan los *Christianos sanctos* mártires, *que* non fablava. E llorando, echóse a sus pies e demandó [fol. 44<sup>va</sup>] perdón por señal *que* fazía. E dixo estonce Sant Savastián: 'Si yo só siervo de Jhesu Christo, e si verdat es lo *que* esta muger oyó de mi boca e lo creyó, abra la su boca el *que* abrió la boca de Zacharías profeta.' E diziendo esto, la muger  
65 fue alunbrada luego de su lengua. E dixo a grandes bozes: '¡Bendita sea la palabra de la tu boca, e benditos sean aquéllos *que* creen lo *que* tú dizes! Ca vi el ángel *que* tenía el libro ante ti, do están escriptas todas estas cosas.'

E su marido, oyendo esto, cayó a los pies de Sant Savastían e  
70 demandóle *perdón*, e luego soltó todos los presos por esta razón e  
mandóles *que* se fuesen a buena ventura. E ellos dixieron *que non* lo  
farían, ca *querían* acabar lo *que* avían començado. E por ende *tan grant*  
*gracia* e *tan grant virtud* pusiera Dios en la palabra de Sant Savastían  
*que non tan* solamente esforçó a Marcelino e a Marcho *que* rescibiesen  
75 martirio, mas *convirtió* a la fe a su padre e a su madre. E a su padre  
dixieron Tarquílino, e *non tan* solamente [fol. 44<sup>vb</sup>] a éstos, mas aún a  
otros muchos *que* bautizó Sant Policarpo.

E Tarquílino, *que* era muy enfermo, luego fue sano *quando*  
bautizado fue. E díxole Cromacio el *alcalle que* avía miedo de sus  
80 vasallos. E díxole Sant Savastían: ‘Los medrosos han miedo de  
*quebrantar* los sus dioses, mas por esto el diablo le fiziese mal, *que* por  
ende fuese *alevoso*.’ E así Sant Policarpo e Sant Savastían  
*quebrantaron* más de dozientos ýdolos. Mas Cromacio *non* fue sano.

E dixo Sant Savastían: ‘Pues nos *quebrantamos* los ýdolos, tú  
85 devías ser sano. Mas o cierto es *que* tú *non* crees *tan* bien como debes,  
o guardaste algunos ýdolos.’ E estonce él mostróle en su cámara ado  
estava ordenado e figurado la ordenación de las estrellas por *que* su  
padre e su madre espendieron más de dozientos *quintales* de oro. E  
esta cámara dezía lo *que* avía en *ella* de oro. E dixo Sant Savastían:  
90 ‘Demientra *que* tú tovieres este thesoro, *nunca* averás salut.’

E queriendo [fol. 45<sup>ra</sup>] él otorgar *que* lo *quebrantase*, dixo Tiburcio  
su fijo *que non* consentía *que* tal thesoro *quebrantasen*, *nin* tal obra  
como ésta se destruyese, *empero que* *querría* salut *para* su padre. E dixo  
Tiburcio: ‘Enciendan un forrno caliente mucho, e yo faré destruyr esta  
95 obra. E si my padre *non* fuere sano después *que* fuere destruyda la  
obra, *que* vos *quemen* a amos bivos en *el* forrno.’ E dixo Sant  
Savastían: ‘Sea así como tú dizes.’ E demientra *que* destruyan aquella  
obra, apareció el ángel al padre e díxole *que* le sanava Jhesu Christo. E  
luego fue sano. E fue besar los pies a Sant Savastían, e él *non* lo quiso  
100 fazer, *nin* quiso *que* ge los besase. E luego su fijo Tiburcio *con* mill e  
trezientos omnes de su *compaña* fueron luego bautizados e tornados  
*Christianos*.

E Soe, la muger de Nicostrato, teniéndola presa los gentiles e  
atormentándola, salióle el *ánima* e fuése a *paráyso*. E oyéndolo  
105 Tarquílino, dixo: ‘¡*Que* las mugeres *que* se van ante *para* *paráyso* *que*  
nos! Pues nos, ¿por *qué* bevimos?’ E a pocos de días fue ape|dreado

[fol. 45<sup>rb</sup>] por amor de Dios.

E luego fue ordenado *que* pusiesen a Tiburcio sobre las brasas encendidas por tal *que* adorase los ydolos e *que* andudiese descalço  
110 sobre ellas. E santiguándose, entró muy sin miedo en ellas diziendo *que* le semejava *que* andava por flores en el nonbre de Dios. Dixo Fabiano el alcalde: 'Non ay dubda *que* Jhesu Christo vos mostró encantar.' E dixo Tiburcio: 'Calla, mezquino, *que* non te conviene de llamar nonbre de tan alto e de tan dulce Señor.'

115 E estonce ensañóse Fabiano e mandóle degollar. E a Marceliano e a Marco e fizo *que* los atasen a un madero. E ellos començaron a alabar a Dios. E díxoles el adelantado: 'Malandantes, ¡dexat esta locura e libratvos della!' E ellos dixieron: 'Nunca tan bien nos fue, e métate Dios en corazón, *que* nos dexes así estar.' Estonce el  
120 adelantado mandó *que* los matasen a lançadas, e así cumplieron su martirio.

Después desto el adelantado dixo mal de Sant Savastián a Diocleciano el enperador, e llamóle e díxole: 'Yo sienpre [fol. 45<sup>va</sup>] te ove por el mejor del mi palacio, e andudiste encubiertó de la mi salut e  
125 injuriando a los dioses.' E Sant Savastián dixo: 'Yo sienpre onrré a Jhesu Christo por la tu salut, e rogué sienpre por el estado de Roma.'

E estonce Diocleciano mandóle atar en medio del campo e *que* le asaeteasen los cavalleros, e finchéronle todo de saetas en manera *que* tan espeso estava dellas como las espinas en el erizo. E fueron,  
130 creyendo e sospechando *que* era muerto. E fue sano a pocos de días. E estando en un poyo del palacio, començó de reprehender a los enperadores *que* venían de fazer mal a los *Christianos*. E dixo el enperador: '¿Non es éste Sant Savastián, el *que* yo mandé matar el otro día?' Dixo Sant Savastián: 'Mi Señor Jhesu Christo me resucitó por tal  
135 *que* vos reprehenda del mal que fazedes a los *Christianos* siervos de Dios.' Estonce el enperador mandóle tanto açotar fasta *que* le sacó el alma. E fizo echar el cuerpo en una cámara privada por tal *que* lo non fallasen los *Christianos*, nin [fol. 45<sup>vb</sup>] le onrrasen como a mártir. E Sant Savastián apareció la otra noche a Santa Lucina e mostróle el su  
140 cuerpo, e mandóle *que* le enterrasen a los pies del apóstol, e así lo fizo.

Cuenta Sant Grigorio *que* una muger casada era en tierra de Costana, e conbidáronla las otras *que* fuese con ellas a la consagración de la egleſia de Sant Savastián. E ella complió aquella noche su voluntat con su marido. E otro día de grant mañana fuése a la egleſia, aviendo

145 vergüença de los omnes más *que* de Dios, do eran las reliquias de Sant  
Savastián. E luego entró ella e tomóla el diablo e comenzó de la  
atormentar ante todos. Estonce el capellán de la egleſia tomó una  
sávana de sobre el altar e cubrióla con ella. E luego entró el diablo en  
el capellán. E sus amigos troxiéronla a los encantadores, *que* le sacasen  
150 los diablos del cuerpo. E luego *que* la encantaron, entraron en ella seys  
mill e quínientos e treynta diablos, e atormentávanla. E un obispo *que*  
dezían Fortanato, [fol. 46<sup>ra</sup>] muy santo, rogó a Dios por ella, e fue sana.

E fallamos en las corónicas de los Lombardos *que* en tiempo del  
rey Uberte, en toda Ytalia avía una pestilencia de muerte, *que* non  
155 podían *com*plir a enterrar los muertos; e mayormente era esta  
pestilencia en Roma e en Papia. E apareció el ángel de Dios a  
muchos, *que* esgrimía un venablo en la mano e firía e matava. E  
*quantas* vegadas firía en alguna cosa, tantos omnes matava. E estonce  
fue dicho a un omne de parte de Dios *que* non quedaría esta pestilencia  
160 fasta *que* fiziesen un altar a Sant Savastián en Papia, en la egleſia de  
Sant Pedro. E después *que* lo fizieron, quedó la pestilencia. E troxieron  
de Roma las reliquias de Sant Savastián.

## Critical Apparatus

3] enperadores : enperados *ms*

86] él : en *ms*

93] su : mi *ms*

118-19] nunca tan bien nos fue : *que*

nunca tan bien les fuera *ms*

128] asaeteasen : ~~asacti~~ asaeteasen *ms*



## La vida de Sant Eustachio

Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El  
Escorial h-I-14, fols 290<sup>rb</sup>-293<sup>rb</sup>

Capítulo ciento e treynta e ocho. De la vida de Sant Eustachio

Sant Eustachio llamávanle primeramente 'Plácido', e éste era maestro de la cavallería de Trajano el enperador. E sienpre fazía obras [fol. 290<sup>va</sup>] de misericordia, enpero *que* adorava los ydolos. E avía una muger *que* avía esas mesmas maneras e costunbres *que* él, e ovieron dos  
5 fijos, e fiziéronlos *criar* así como a ellos *convinié*.

E porque fazían obras de piedat, meresció de ser alunbrado en las carreras de verdat. E un día, yendo acá, falló una manada de ciervos, entre los quales vio uno mayor e más fermoso *que* todos los otros, e saltó en una ysla muy grande. E los otros cavalleros, yendo en pos dellos, Plácido començó a yr en pos éste *quanto* él podía, e confortávase *para* tomarle. E siguiéndole *con* toda su fuerça, el ciervo saltó en somo de una peña, e allegándose Plácido, pensava en su coraçon *quánto* él podié por tomarlo. E él parando mientes al ciervo vio entre sus cuernos la forma de la Vera Cruz, más clara *que* el sol. E  
10 en ella la ymagen de la Vera Cruz de Jhesu Christo.

E fabló por la boca del ciervo, así como otro *tiempo* fablara por la boca del asna, diziendo: 'Plácido, ¿por *qué* me sigues? Ca por amor de ti aparescí en esta bestia. Ca yo só Jhesu Christo, a *quién* tú onrras *non* me conociendo, ca las tus elimosnas subieron ante mí. E por esto  
15 vin acá, *que* tú caças este ciervo, *que* yo caçase a ti.'

E oyendo esto Plácido, [fol. 290<sup>vb</sup>] cayó del cavallo en *tierra*, muy espantado. E a cabo de una ora, torrnándose a sí mesmo, levantóse de *tierra* e dixo: 'Tú *que* fablas, descúbrete, e creeré en ti.' E díxole Jhesu Christo: 'Plácido, yo só Jhesu Christo *que* fiz el cielo e la *tierra*, e fiz  
20 nacer la luz e la *partí* de las tiniebras. E establescí los *tiempos* e los días e las noches, e fiz el omne del limo de la *tierra*. E aparescí en la carne, e por salvar los omnes fuy crucificado e enterrado, e resucité al tercero día.'

E Plácido, oyendo esto, cayó otra vegada en *tierra* e dixo: 'Señor, creo *que* eres él *que* fizo todas las cosas e *conviertes* todos los errados.'  
30

E díxole *Nuestro* Señor: ‘Si lo crees, vete a esta cibdat e di al obispo *que* te bautize.’ E díxole Plácido: ‘Señor, si tienes por bien, *que* lo diga a mi muger e a mis fijos, por *que* ellos crean conmigo en ti.’ E díxole *Nuestro* Señor: ‘Ve e dígelo, por *que* ellos sean alinpiados contigo. E tú verrnás  
35 acá cras, e aparescerte he otra vegada, e amonestarte he más complidamente las cosas *que* han de venir.’

E viniendo a su casa e contando esto a su muger en el lecho, ella llamando a grandes bozes, dixo: ‘Mi señor, yo lo oý en la otra noche e me dixo: “Cras verrnás a mí tú e tu marido e tus fijos”. E agora [fol.  
40 291<sup>a</sup>] lo conosco: *que* él es *Jhesu Christo*.’ E a la medianoche fuéronse para el obispo de Roma, e él bautizólos con grant onrra e con grant gozo. E puso nonbre a Plácido ‘Eustachio’, e a su muger ‘Treospite’, e a sus fijos ‘Agapitus’ e ‘Teospitus’.

E otro día de grant mañana, fuése Eustachio a su casa así como  
45 primeramente. E fallando y sus cavalleros, mandólos *que* se fuesen a caçar. E estando él en el lugar, vio la forma de la primera visión. E cayendo en tierra a sus pies sobre su faz, dixo: ‘Señor, ruégote *que* manifiestes al tu siervo lo *que* le prometiste.’ E díxole *Nuestro* Señor: ‘Eustachio, bienandante eres, *que* tomaste bautismo e agora venciste al diablo, e agora açoteste a aquél *que* te engañava. Agora paresce la tu fe, ca el diablo tórnase contra ti, porque le desanpareste. E por ende, conviene de sofrir muchas cosas por *que* te omilles de la vanidat del siglo *que* oviste, enpero serás muy alto en las riquezas *spirituales*. Ca conviene *que* te muestres *que* eres Job en sufriendo muchas tentaciones  
55 en fin de tu vida.’

E díxole él: ‘Señor, si a vos conviene *que* sea, enbíanos agora las temptaciones, mas danos virtud de paciencia *que* las podamos sofrir.’ E dixo *Nuestro* Señor: [fol. 291<sup>b</sup>] ‘Estat firmes, ca la mi *gracia* guardará las vuestras ánimas.’ E así el *Nuestro* Señor subió a los cielos, e Eustachio  
60 torrnóse a su casa e dixo esto a su muger.

E a cabo de *tiempo* murieron todos sus cavalleros e sus bestias. E a cabo de *tiempo* murieron todas sus compañías e todos sus vasallos e todos sus ganados. E un día omnes malos, viendo la su pérdida, vinieron de noche a su casa e robaron *quánto* y fallaron. E despojaron  
65 toda la su casa de oro e de plata e de todas las otras cosas. Él e su muger e sus fijos fueron desnudos, e aviendo por ende grant vergüença, fuéronse para Egipto. E *quánto* en el mundo avié, fue todo echado a mal por el peccado de los malos. E el rey e todos sus

senadores, doliéndose mucho del maestro de la cavallería tan noble,  
70 por*que non* le podién fallar en ningunt logar.

E Eustachio e su muger yéndose, llegaron al mar, e fallando una nave, començaron a navear sobrella. E la muger de Eustachio era muy hermosa, e viniendo el señor de la nave, deseávala mucho aver. E después *que* vinieron al puerto, demandávale el marinero su trabajo, e  
75 *non* aviendo de donde ge lo dar, mandó el señor *que* le tomasen la muger por el prescio de la nave, *queriéndola* aver [fol. 291<sup>va</sup>] *para* sí. E viéndolo Eustachio, *non* lo *querié* consentir en ninguna manera, refertando muy grant hora sobrello. E el señor de la nave fazié de los ojos a los suyos *que* le echasen en el mar, e así podrié aver a su muger.  
80 E entendiendo Eustachio lo *que* le *querién* fazer, en*pero que* estava muy triste, dexóles la muger. E tomó dos fijos suyos gemiendo e diziendo: '¡Ay por mí e por vos, ca *vuestra* madre es dada a marido extraño!'

E viniendo a un río, el agua era muy fonda, e él *non* osó pasar el río *con* estos dos fijos. Mas dexando el uno cerca la ribera del río, vino  
85 un lobo apresurado e arrebató el niño *que* dexara, e fuése con él a los montes. E Eustachio, espantado desto, yvase apriesa tras el lobo, e dexó el otro niño. E yéndose, vino un león e arrebató el otro niño e fuése con él. E él, *non* pudiendo yr en pos ellos, estando en medio del río, començó de llorar e de se messar, e *querié* echarse en el río, *sinon*  
90 *que* le guardó *Nuestro* Señor.

E viendo unos pastores *que* el león levava el niño, siguiéronle con los canes, e ordenándolo *Nuestro* Señor, el león dexó el niño e fuése. E unos labradores, dando bozes en pos el lobo, sacáronle el niño de la boca sano e guarido. E los pastores e los labradores moravan en un  
95 barrio e *criaron* estos [fol. 291<sup>vb</sup>] niños consigo.

E Eustachio, *non* sabiendo nada desto, fuése *triste*, e llorando e diziendo: '¡Ay mezquino, yo *que* solía aver muchos cavalleros enderredor de mí, agora finco solo e desanparado, e aun *non* fincó un fijo comigo! Señor, acuérdome *que* me dexiste *que* me vernían muchas  
100 tentaciones como a Job, mas ya veo *que* más fazes a mí. Ca en*pero que* él *perdió* *quánto* en el mundo avié, en*pero* ovo esfuerço sobre *qué* pudo ser, mas aun *non* me fincó ninguna cosa destas. E él ovo amigos *que* se enpiadavan dél, e yo ove las bestias por enemigos, *que* arrebataron los mis fijos. E él fincó *con* su muger, e a mí tomáronme la mía. Señor, da  
105 alguna folgura a las mis tribulaciones, e guarda la boca *que non* peque, nin me echés de la tu *gracia*.'

E llorando e diziendo esto, fuése a un barrio. E dándole su soldada, guardó los barvechos de aquellos omnes quinze años. E sus fijos, criáronlos en otro barrio, e non sabién si eran hermanos. E  
110 Nuestro Señor guardó la muger de Eustachio, e nunca ovo que baratar con ella aquél que la tenía, e nunca le fazié ninguna desonrra.

E los enemigos del enperador e de los romanos faziénles muchas desonrras, e corriénlos cada día. E acordándose de Plácido, como lidiava contra estos enemigos muchas vegadas, eran muy tristes por  
115 tanta desonrra aquí fuera mudado. E enbió el enperador muchos cavalleros por todo el mundo, prometiéndoles muchas [fol. 292<sup>ra</sup>] onrras e muchas riquezas a aquéllos que lo fallasen.

E los cavalleros que algunt tiempo ovieron servido a Plácido vinieron a aquel barrio do él morava. E viniendo Plácido del canpo e  
120 viéndolos, conosciólos en el andar. E atormentándose de la onrra en que se viera, e començóse de ensañar e dezir: 'Señor, así como vi éstos que non avía esperança que fueron conmigo algunt tiempo, así me guía en cuidar que pueda ver en algunt tiempo a mi muger. Ca de los fijos non he esperança de verlos, ca sé que los comieron las bestias.' E estonce  
125 oyó una boz que le dixo: 'Eustachio, fia en Dios, ca ayña rescibirás la tu onrra e tus fijos e tu muger.'

E encontrándole los cavalleros, non le conocieron. E saludándole, dixieronle si conocía a un omne que dizién Plácido, con su muger e con dos fijos. E díxoles que non sabié. Enpero, él  
130 rogándoles, fueron con él a su casa, e serviélos Eustachio. E acordándose del estado en que fuera, començó de llorar, e salió fuera e lavó la su cara. E tornándose, serviólos. E parando ellos mientes, dixo el uno al otro: 'Mucho me semeja éste él que nos demandamos.' E el otro respondió: 'Sin dubda, mucho le semeja. E por ende pensemos e  
135 paremos mientes si ha ferida en la cabeça que rescibió en una lid. E si la así fallaremos, éste es.' [fol. 292<sup>rb</sup>]

E viendo e fallando el golpe, luego conocieron que éste era el que ellos demandavan. E fuéronse para él, e besándole, preguntáronle de la muger e de los fijos. E díxoles él: 'Los fijos son muertos e la  
140 muger es forçada.' E todos sus vezinos corrieron a ver esto, e contando los cavalleros la su virtud e gloria primera que ovo, maravilláronse. Estonces los cavalleros dixieronle el mandado del enperador. E oyendo él lo que le dixieran, dióles paz, e contó a todos cuánto le acaesciera. E fiziéronle luego maestro de la cavallería, e

145 fiziéronle *que* oviese el oficio *que* avía primeramente.

E él contándolos e fallando *que* eran pocos contra los enemigos, mandó por todas las cibdades e los barrios *que* le enbiasen cavalleros novelles. E acaesció *que* entre todas las otras tierras, contaron *aquella* en *que* sus fijos fueron *criados*. E diérongelos por cavalleros todos  
150 quantos avié en *aquel* logar al maestro de la cavallería, porque eran mejores *que* todos los otros. E viendo él *que* eran mancebos muy apuestos e de mejores costunbres *que* todos los otros, ovo grant plazer con ellos e ordenó *que* fuesen e *que* comiesen a la su mesa. E así fuése a la cibdat.

155 E vencidos todos sus enemigos, fizo folgar toda su hueste tres días en *aquel* logar donde ospedavan a su muger de Eustachio, *que* era pobre. E estos dos mancebos, ordenándolo así [fol. 292<sup>va</sup>] Dios, ospedaron en casa de su madre, *non* lo sabiendo ellos.

E cerca el mediodía, estando diziendo e fablando, dixo el uno al  
160 otro de su niñez. E su madre, estando de la otra parte, oyé muy bien quanto ellos fablavan. Ca dizié el mayor: ‘Yo, siendo niño, *non* me acuerdo de otra cosa salvo *que* mi padre era maestro de la cavallería, e mi madre era muy hermosa. E ovieron dos fijos, a mí e a otro menor que a mí, e era él muy hermoso. E tomándonos, salieron de noche e  
165 *non* sé dó se fueron. E pasando el mar, nos salimos de la nave, e *non* sé cómo mi madre fincó en *el* mar. E *nuestro* padre, levándonos a amos a dos, e viniendo a un río, passó con mi hermano, e a mí dexó sobre la ribera del río. E tornándose para passar a mí, vino un lobo e arrebató a mi hermano. E ante *que* a mí llegase, salió un león del monte  
170 e arrebatóme a mí, e levóme al monte. E los pastores sacáronme de su boca, e fuy *criado* en *aquel* logar do tú sabes. E *non* puedo saber *qué* fue de mi padre, *nin* de mi hermano.’

E oyendo esto el menor, començó de llorar e a dezir: ‘¡Por Dios, segunt yo oy, tú eres mi hermano, ca *aquéllos* *que* me *criaron* eso  
175 mesmo dixieron: *que* me sacaron de la boca del lobo!’ E abraçáronse, e lloraron mucho en uno.

E su madre, oyendo esto, pensando como ellos contarán su fazienda así ordenadamente, tractó entresí [fol. 292<sup>vb</sup>] muy grant pieça si eran éstos sus fijos. E otro día fuése para el maestro de la cavallería e  
180 razonó antél, e díxole: ‘Señor, pídotte por merced *que* me fagas e me mandes levar a mi tierra, ca yo só de tierra de Roma, e só *aquí* desterrada.’ E diziendo esto, vio en *el* señal de su marido.

E conociéndole, e non pudiendo estar en sí, echóse a sus pies e dixo: ‘Señor, ruégote *que* me digas cuál fue la tu vida en antes, ca  
185 *cuedo que* tú eres Plácido, el maestro de la cavallería. E eres dicho por nonbre Eustachio, ca este Plácido *convertió* el Salvador, e sufrió tal *temptación*. E só su muger, *que* le fuy tomada en el mar, enpero fuy sienpre guardada de toda villanía. E ovo dos fijos, e al uno dizién Agapitu e al otro Teospitu.’ E oyendo esto Eustachio, e parando  
190 mientes en ella, conoció *que* era su muger. E llorando de grant gozo, dióle paz, e loando mucho a Dios, *que* da consolación a los desconsolados.

E estonces dixo su muger: ‘Señor, ¿dó están *nuestros* fijos?’ E díxole él: ‘Las bestias los comieron.’ E díxole él en *qué* manera los  
195 *perdiera*. E dixo ella: ‘Demos *gracias* a Dios, ca creo *que* así como Dios *quiso que* nos fallasemos yo e tú, *así querrá que* conoscamos *nuestros* fijos!’ E respuso él: ‘¿Non te dixe *que* las bestias los comieran?’ E díxole ella: ‘Ayer, estando en la [fol. 293<sup>ra</sup>] huerta, oý a dos mancebos *que* contavan toda su fazienda en esta manera, e sospeché *que* eran  
200 *nuestros* fijos. E por ende preguntales, e dezírtelo han.’

E llamándolos Eustachio, e oyendo la su fazienda, conoció *que* eran sus fijos. E abraçándolos él e su madre, lloravan mucho sobre el cuello dellos, e besávanlos mucho a menudo. E toda la hueste gozávase mucho, porque vencieran a sus enemigos.

205 E torrnándose, acaesció *que* murió Trajano, e vino después Adriano, *que* fue peor *que* non él en peccados. E porque fallara Eustachio a su muger e a sus fijos, e porque venciera los enemigos, rescibiéralos con grant onrra, e fizo muy grant conbite. E otro día fuése al templo de los ydolos por fazer sacrificio, porque vencieran a los  
210 enemigos. E viendo *que* Eustachio non *querié* sacrificar, nin por esto, nin porque fallara la muger e los fijos, amonestóle *que* fiziese sacrificio. E díxole Eustachio: ‘Yo honrró a Jhesu Christo, e dél fago sacrificio.’

E stonces el enperador muy sañado pesóle, e mandóle levar a él e a su muger e a sus fijos a un arenal, e fizo enbiar contra ellos un león  
215 muy cruel. E el león fue, la cabeça corvada contra ellos, e non les fizo mal. Estonces el enperador fizo encender e escalar un buey de alanbre, e mandólos meter dentro bivos. E los *sanctos*, rogando [fol. 293<sup>rb</sup>] e acomendándose a Dios, entraron en el buey. E al tercero día, sacáronlos del buey ante el enperador, e falláronlos enteros, en manera  
220 *que* el fuego non *tanxiera* en ellos nin en cabellos, nin en otra cosa

ninguna dellos. E los *Christianos* tomaron los sus cuerpos e enterráronlos muy onrradamente, e fizieron muy noble egleſia.

### Critical Apparatus

rubric] ciento : ~~del~~ ciento *ms*

9] saltó : saltó *a ms*

20] caçase : *que caçase ms*

25] la partí : la partíla *ms*

40] lo : lo | lo *ms*

66] sus : su *ms*

109] fijos : ~~bar~~ fijos *ms*

140] a ver : a aver *ms*

141] cavalleros : cavallos *ms*

184] dixo : ~~de~~ dixo *ms*

196] conoscamos : coñoscamos *ms*

213] él e : él e e *ms*

## **Appendix 2**

### **Sample Manuscript Xeroxes**





[illegible]







**S**an ffe ual  
 nan fue analla re  
 tany bue xpiano  
 z nasho en nashoma  
 z era mojado en mulla  
 Et era muy amado de los en  
 padotes diocleano z maxi  
 miano en tanto q era pnap  
 de los caualleros z ma dnu a le  
 los enpadotes q siempre estodi  
 est ante ellos Et traye ma  
 de cauallero por conozer los  
 xpianos por q fallecie qnd los  
 conmemua Et temen q ma  
 pmano z malos amos herman  
 os de du viene muy nobles  
 omes q qnan se de subecondos  
 por amor de ihu xpo De meyo  
 todos sus papientes a ellos por  
 tal q no toma semesta pasion.  
 Et viene la madre mesada  
 z fada sus pechos z de qa Co  
 mys fijos muy dulces muy gñ  
 llopor muy gñ me fñdar me  
 qen en qe q ay mes qna por  
 qen pñe q mys fijos por q van  
 de gñdo ala muerre Et so por  
 ventura los enemigos los leu  
 asen yo ypa entre ellos por me  
 dio dela hueste a febatz los.  
 Et sy los judgassen por fuera  
 a muerre yo don q so pñe se mo  
 tyz q pñe qna la en q en ma  
 uera fueua de pñe qna por q

hagan al morador q fieri En  
 de sean de se pñe de la vida q  
 co bñan la muerre q venga  
 Cay llopo fueuo r muerre me  
 fñdar en q se pñe la man  
 cebia de mys fijos en q se vien  
 la de qe qna de su padre  
 en de q q bñan de qe qe  
 en do la madre venga los pa  
 sallos z trayan a su padre por  
 pñado muy mñe la abe qna  
 bñan de pñe qe qe qe qe  
 ges ouya el odo de qe qe  
 q vengo de qe qe qe qe  
 los q vengun de gñdo mo pñe  
 por q yo de saucen qe qe qe  
 nide qe en el en qe qe qe  
 fijos lo q yo de qe qe el mo  
 Et mys fijos blago de qe ve  
 yes z luntre de qe olos por  
 q amades tanto la muerre  
 veyt a adre qe z llopor so  
 bre estos mñe qe qe pñe  
 de gñdo Qvengun aen anaa  
 nos z llopor con qe los mys  
 fijos ay los mo qe qe qe  
 fñe llopor por q no vea qe  
 los mys fijos de sube qe  
 el padre de qe qe qe veyt  
 por las mugeres trayendo los  
 fijos llopor agñados los  
 z de qe qe qe qe qe qe  
 ta de qe qe qe qe qe qe  
 fñe qe qe qe qe qe qe  
 pñe qe qe qe qe qe qe



7 egirole en tin 7 geyole 7  
comiole las piernas 7 acabo de  
ves dias muros. **E**ntonces  
comphento acento 7 legure 7 an  
co mios. Sant auto fuege pa  
pays. **Capitulo treseno**  
dela vida de sant iuantham:

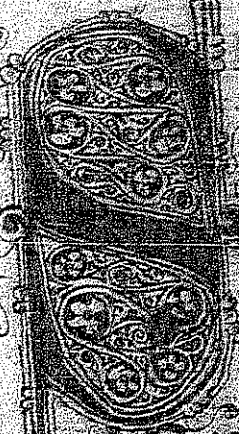
**S**ant iuantham

non era cauallo 7  
muy buen ximano  
7 nashero en nario  
ria 7 era morador en pullan  
7 era mucho amado de los en  
pados dioclegano 7 maximo  
no tanto q era principe de los  
cauallos. **E** mandauale los  
capitanes dioclegano 7 maximo  
ano q estudiase siempre anelles  
7 maya maney de cauallo por  
q conuirtiese los vanos q de los  
atormetauan. **E** mientra q  
marceliano 7 marcho amos her  
manos de don bionter omis muy  
nobles q uan sta desahogados  
por amor de dñi qñ bionter  
todos los parientes a ellos por  
tal q no tornasen a alla passion  
7 vino la madre melara  
7 gascara 7 sus pechos abier  
tos 7 diciendo estas palabre  
ay mis fijos mucho dulces  
en muy grant mesquida 7  
grant lloro 7 muy grant do  
lor me qñca en regredor mes  
qñ por mis fijos q pieto q

van de grado ala muerte. **E**  
si por auentura los lauiasen por  
fuerza 7 entran por medio  
de la buelte 7 agredan los pa  
delos enemigos co grant maya  
**E** don flos iudgase por  
fuerza auuente 7 don q supie  
se luego mora qbrantura la  
carcel 7 mas ellos estan en ma  
nere de priesa 7 muela dñe  
tudo q siega en cobdicia la  
muerte 7 qbrantura la vida  
migos q ay loro mudo 7 me  
no mesquida 7 q se reparte de  
grado la manebia de los ala  
legenda de my 7 de su padre. mes  
qñ no se enq bue. **E** dice  
de esto la madre flos 7 no  
pan a su padre muy vido los  
basillos del rey la su esfera  
llena de pluo tanto grandes  
logos 7 diciendo estas palabre  
saludo de mis fijos q ydes de  
grado ala muerte lo q yo des  
uenturado deshenere en entre  
grueto de mis fijos lo q yo  
tema pa my enqñamiento o mis  
fijos lortan de la my regos 7  
lunbr de mis olos por q ama  
de tanto la muerte. **E** de  
sta uenir aca vidos 7 llorur  
con este vido por estos fijos  
los manebia q priesa de  
grado. **E** uenir aca los amaa  
nos 7 llorur conyo. **E** de  
mis olos fallasler llorando



q' agora se yra. E luego  
levantose y fuele pa milla  
. E q'nto le vio ouerō ams  
placet y plugole q'le co  
mulgase y comulgole. E  
luego q' ouo comulgado pu  
sole los brazos en figura  
de cruz y orando saliose  
le el alma. y el dia de pas  
cua leuand el su cuerpo ala  
eglia. E muchos infantes  
del monesterio viero visio  
nes. los vnos le veyā q'  
estaua en cathedra muy  
fermosa y otros le veyan  
q' tenya vna estrella sobre  
el cuerpo. E asi se para  
mos myentō seguir q' esto  
fallomos q' fue virge y q'  
asi q'na presabu muerte  
por amor de dios y q' daua  
muchas lagrimas por los  
pecadores. Q'nto fue  
mucho fuerte en defende  
la fe de ihu xpo. y en ven  
dicar y en sanar demonia  
dos y en fazer otros  
muchos myraglos. **Ca**  
pitulo xxx. ix. de la vi  
da de sant george. y



**C**on esto fue infante muy  
noble y era m  
sual de enpa  
dona. E vna  
adua abbat q'  
doran silena  
E acera desta q'  
dat estua vna lagrima  
muy grande q' semelaua m  
y pasia enella vn dragō  
muy grande y muy malo  
y tā fuerte era q' muchas  
vegadas vna todo el pue  
blo armado contra el y se  
gualos todos fuy y yua en  
pos ellos hasta el muro de la  
cerca dela abbat y enpreua  
ua el ayre conel bato y ma  
trua a muchos. E en esta  
ayra le adu atar dia oue  
las q' comese por q' aman  
sate su lana. E el dia q'  
gelo no daua vna fusta  
la cerca dela abbat y ouo  
conaua el ayre como es  
dicho y mucha muchos. E  
falleciendo ya las ouejas  
en aq'lla era ouerō postu  
tos enq'el q'le diesen ca  
dia vna ouja y vn ome



**M** de misericordia enp q adpau  
los ydoles q. En una una muger  
q una es las mismas manes  
y osambres q el y ome q os  
fios y fies en los diu asi como  
a ellos osuam. **E** por q fies  
obmo de pceder inqesio de sei  
alumbria en las enqesio de ur  
du. **E** vndia yendo aca fello  
vna manada de aqnos entre  
los quales vno vno maior y  
mas fermoso q todos los otros  
y saltos en vna ylla muy qm  
de. **E** los otros aualleros ven  
do en pos dellos plaado cometo  
a y en pos de qnto el podia y  
conformase en roma. **E**  
signadole co todo su fuerza el  
aqno salto en sono de vna pe  
ña y allegandose plaado pensa  
ue en su coracon qnto el podia  
por roma. **E** el ymanto m  
entes al aqno vio entre sus  
cuernos la forma dela vera  
cruz mas clara q el sol. **E**  
enella la ymago dela reyn qm  
de ihu xpo. **E** fello por la lo  
ca del cuerpo asi como oyo q  
fublara por la boca del asna di  
ciendo. plaado por q me sigues  
en por amor de la qntesa en  
tu testigo. **E** so ihu xpo aqnt  
tu ongas no me conosciendo  
en las tus elmosas. **E** fello  
ante m. **E** por qnto vna a  
tu enqes este aqno q y q a  
cuse en. **E** oyendo este pla  
do

**M** otro del auallo enqnta muy  
esperando y acabo de vna oja  
comandose asi mismo leuan  
tose de oja y dize tu q fubla  
describere y quere auall. **E** di  
xole ihu xpo. plaado y so ihu  
xpo q fies el cielo y la qnta y  
fies naser la luz y la pala de  
las tmebras y estableca los  
qntos y los dias y las noches y  
fies el ome del lmo. **E** la qnta y  
aptesa en la enqesio y per saluam  
los ome fies qnto fello y ente  
mado y pceder al cuerpo dia  
**E** plaado oyendo este auo  
oia rogada en qnta y dize se  
nior qnto q eses el q fies co  
das las cosas y conqesio de  
los qntos. **E** dizele nro senor  
fello qnto te a esta qnta y  
di al oja q te loynges y dize  
le plaado. **E** vndia si tuenes m  
bien qlo diga am muger y a  
mug fies por q ellos qnto con  
go am y dizele nro senor lo  
y dizele por q ellos sean alin  
piados. **E** dizele nro senor am  
qnto y aptesa te le oia tege  
ta y amonestan te mas aply  
da mente las cosas q han de  
tem. **E** vnyendo asi enqnta y  
adrand este asi muger enel  
lecho ella llamando aqntos  
luges. **E** dize nro senor y lo  
oy en la oja nrode y me dize  
qnto loynges am tu y en mas  
de y tus fies. **E** agora lo

otro de ysiellus q' alma noble d'ra espando q'ndo morre pat  
 dubtosio d'sormagiosse vn poco q' oyo vna voz q' d'xo q'de  
 gradus leuatare q' agota se yta q' leuato se q' fuesse p' m  
 llan q' dio el cuerpo de dios d'ra dubtosio q' luego puso  
 las manos en manera de cruz q' assi le salio el alma q'  
 alla noche de pascua leuado el cuerpo alla ysta estana  
 hi m'nos bantados q' viedo d'ra dubtosio en vna cathe  
 dra muy hermosa q' ois dize q' viedo estar vna estrella  
 muy hermosa sobre el su cuerpo q' assi pareze q' fue ygel  
 q' q' dio gras q' gradus lagmas p' los peccadores q' de  
 llas p' los santos q' fue muy fuerte en la fe de ihu xpo  
 q' labido de san jorge el qual en natal dela q'udad de empudora

**S**an jorge muy noble infanco q' natal de capado  
 q' a vno alma q'udad q' d'raan selea q' cerca de  
 alla q'udad alia vna gras laguna q' semejava  
 mar q' estana hi vn orago muy grade q' muy fuerte  
 q' muchas bradas fura fura el pueblo q' lenja d'z  
 mados cot' el q' q'ndo se llegana al muro dela q'udad  
 enpreonaua el d'ize co su baho q' atodas las getes q' du  
 uale orelas q' comesse p' q' d'matasse su sana q' q'ndo  
 no gelas d'ana llegnase al muro q' enpreonaua los  
 oms co su baho q' mautaua muchos dellos q' falliendo  
 vna orela o vn omc o mug' q' echando suertes sobre  
 los fijos q' fijos do cayesse la suerte q' luego lo echa  
 sen al drago q' lo comesse q' cayo la suerte sobre la faja

## Appendix 3

### Latin Texts

All editions are from Graesse (1846). Editorial footnotes have not been reproduced.

## Appendix 3

### Jacobus de Voragine: *De sancto Georgio*

Cap. LVIII (56). De sancto Georgio

Georgius dicitur a geos, quod est terra, et orge, quod est colere, quasi colens terram, id est carnem suam. Augustinus autem in libro de trinitate, quod bona terra est altitudine montium, temperamento collium, planitie corporum. Prima enim est bona ad virentes herbas, 5 secunda ad vineas, tertia ad fruges. Sic beatus Georgius fuit altus despiciendo inferiora et ideo habuit vivorum puritatis, temperatus per discretionem et ideo habuit vinum aeternae jucunditatis, planus per humilitatem et ideo protulit fruges bonae operationis. Vel dicitur a gerar, quod est sacrum, et gyon, quod est arena, quasi sacra arena. Fuit 10 enim arena, quia ponderosus morum gravitate, minutus humilitate, et siccus a carnali voluptate. Vel dicitur a gerar, quod est sacrum, et gyon, quod est luctatio, quasi sacer luctator, quia luctatus est cum dracone et carnifice; vel Georgius dicitur a gero, quod est peregrinus, et gir praecisio et ys consiliator. Ipse enim fuit peregrinus in contemptu 15 mundi, praecisus in corona martyrii et consiliator in praedicatione [260] regni. Ejus legenda inter scripturas apocryphas in Nicaeno concilio connumeratur ex eo, quod ejus martirium certam relationem non habet. Nam in calendario Bedae legitur, quod sit passus in Persica civitate Dyaspoli, quae prius Lidda vocabatur, et est juxta Joppen. 20 Alibi, quod passus sit sub Dyocletiano et Maximiniano imperatoribus; alibi quod sub Dyocletiano imperatore Persarum praesentibus LXXX regibus imperii sui. Hic quod sub Daciano praeside imperantibus Dyocletiano et Maximiniano.

Georgius tribunus genere Cappadocum pervenit quadam vice in 25 provinciam Libyae in civitatem, quae dicitur Silena. Juxta quam civitatem erat stagnum instar maris, in quo draco pestifer latitabat, qui saepe populum contra se armatum in fugam converterat flatuque suo ad muros civitatis accedens omnes inficiebat. Quapropter compulsi cives duas oves quotidie sibi dabant, ut ejus furorem sedarent, alioquin 30 sic muros civitatis invadebat et aërum inficiebat, quod plurimi interibant.

Cum ergo jam oves paene deficerent, maxime cum harum copiam habere non possent, inito consilio ovem cum adjuncto homine tribuebant. Cum igitur sorte omnium filii et filiae hominum darentur  
 35 et sors neminem exciperet, et jam paene omnes filii et filiae essent consumti, quadam vice filia regis unica sorte est deprehensa et draconi adjudicata. Tunc rex contristatus ait: tollite aurum et argentum et dimidium regni mei et filiam mihi dimittite, ne taliter moriatur. Cui populus cum furore respondit: tu, o rex, hoc edictum fecisti et nunc  
 40 omnes pueri nostri mortui sunt et tu vis filiam tuam salvare? nisi in filia tua compleveris, quod in aliis ordinasti, succendemus te et domum tuam. Quod rex videns coepit filiam suam flere dicens: heu me, filia mea dulcissima, quid de te faciam? aut quid dicam? quando plus videbo nuptias tuas? Et conversus ad populum dixit: oro, ut  
 45 inducias octo dierum lugendi mihi filiam tribuatis. Quod cum populus admisisset, in fine octo dierum reversus populus est cum furore dicens: quare perdis populum tuum propter filiam tuam? En omnes, afflatu draconis morimur. Tunc rex videns, quod non posset filiam liberare, induit eam vestibibus regalibus et amplexatus, eam cum  
 50 lacrymis dixit: heu me, filia mea dulcissima, de te filios in regali gremio nutrire credebam et nunc vadis, ut a dracone devoraris [261]. Heu me, filia mea dulcissima, sperabam ad tuas nuptias principes invitare, palatium margaritis ornare, tympana et organa audire, et nunc vadis, ut a dracone devoreris. Et deosculans dimisit eam dicens: utinam, filia  
 55 mea, ego ante te mortuus essem, quam te sic amissem! Tunc illa procidit ad pedes patris petens ab eo benedictionem suam: quam cum pater cum lacrymis benedixisset, ad lacum processit.

Quam beatus Georgius casu inde transiens ut plorantem vidit, eam, quid haberet, interrogavit. Et illa: bone juvenis velociter equum  
 60 adscende et fuge, ne mecum pariter moriaris. Cui Georgius: noli timere, filia, sed dic mihi, quid hic praestolaris omni plebe spectante? Et illa: ut video, bone juvenis, magnifici cordis es tu, sed mecum mori desideras? fuge velociter. Cui Georgius: hinc ego non discedam, donec mihi, quid habeas, intimabis. Cum ergo totum sibi exposuisset, ait  
 65 Gregorius: filia, noli timere, quia in Christi nomine te juvabo. Et illa: bone miles, sed te ipsum salvare festines, mecum non pereas! sufficit enim, si sola peream, nam me liberare non posses et tu mecum perires.

Dum haec loquerentur, ecce draco veniens caput de lacu levavit. Tunc puella tremefacta dixit: fuge, bone domine, fuge velociter. Tunc

- 70 Georgius equum ascendens et cruce se muniens draconem contra se  
advenientem audaciter aggreditur et lanceam fortiter vibrans et se Deo  
commendans ipsum graviter vulneravit et ad terram dejecit dixitque  
puellae: projice zonam tuam in collum draconis nihil dubitans, filia.  
Quod cum fecisset, sequebatur eam velut mansuetissima canis. Cum  
75 ergo eum in civitatem duceret, populi hoc videntes per montes et  
colles fugere coeperunt dicentes: vae nobis, quia jam omnes  
peribimus. Tunc beatus Georgius innuit iis dicens: nolite timere, ad  
hoc enim me misit dominus ad vos, ut a poenis vos liberarem  
draconis; tantummodo in Christum credite et unusquisque vestrum  
80 baptizetur et draconem istum occidam. Tunc rex et omnes populi  
baptizati sunt, beatus autem Georgius evaginato gladio draconem  
occidit et ipsum extra civitatem efferri praecepit. Tunc quatuor paria  
boum ipsum in magnum campum foras duxerunt, baptisati autem sunt  
in illa die XX millia exceptis parvulis et mulieribus, rex autem in  
85 honorem beatæ Mariæ et beati Georgii ecclesiam miræ magnitudinis  
construxit, de cuius altari fons vivus emanat, cuius potus omnes  
lan|guidos [262] sanat, rex vero infinitam pecuniam beato Georgio  
obtulit, quam ille recipere nolens pauperibus eam dari praecepit. Tunc  
Georgius regem de quatuor breviter instruxit, scilicet ut ecclesiarum  
90 Dei curam haberet, sacerdotes honoraret, divinum officium diligenter  
audiret et semper pauperum memor esset, et osculato rege inde  
recessit. In aliquibus tamen libris legitur, quod, dum draco ad  
devorandam puellam pergeret, Georgius se cruce munivit et draconem  
aggrediens interfecit.
- 95 Eo tempore imperantibus Dyocletiano et Maximiano sub praeside  
Daciano tanta persecutio christianorum fuit, ut infra unum mensem  
XVII millia martirio coronarentur, unde inter tot tormentorum genera  
multi christiani deficiebant et ydolis immolabant. Quod videns sanctus  
Georgius tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus omnia, quae habebat,  
100 dispersit, militarem habitum abiecit, christianorum habitum induit et  
in medium prosiliens exclamavit: omnes Dii gentium daemonia!  
dominus autem caelos fecit. Cui praeses iratus dixit: qua praesumptione  
audes Deos nostros daemonia appellare? Dic, unde es tu aut quo  
nomine voceris? Cui Georgius ait: Georgius vocor, ex nobili  
105 Cappadocium prosapia ortus Palaestinam Christo favente devici, sed  
omnia deserui, ut servire possem liberius Deo coeli. Cum autem  
praeses eum ad se inclinare non posset, iussit eum in equuleum levare

et membratim corpus ejus ungulis laniari, apposis in super ad latera  
facibus patentibus viscerum rimis sale plagas ejus fricari jussit. Eadem  
110 nocte dominus cum ingenti lumine ei apparuit et ipsum dulciter  
confortavit, cujus melliflua visione et allocutione sic confortatus est, ut  
pro nihilo duceret cruciatus.

Videns Dacianus, quod eum poenis superare non posset, quendam  
magum accersivit eique dixit: Christiani suis magicis artibus tormenta  
115 ludificant et Deorum nostrorum sacrificia parvi pendunt. Cui magus:  
si artes ejus superare nequivero, capitis reus ero. Ipse igitur maleficiis  
suis injectis et Deorum suorum nominibus invocatis venenum vino  
immiscuit et sancto Georgio sumendum porrexit, contra quod vir Dei  
signum crucis edidit haustoque eo nil laesionis sensit. Rursum magus  
120 priore fortius venenum immiscuit, quod vir Dei signo crucis edito sine  
laesione aliqua totum bibit. Quo viso magus statim ad pedes ejus  
cecedit, veniam lamentabiliter petiit et se christianum fieri postulavit,  
quem mox iudex decollari fecit.

Sequenti die jussit Georgium poni in rota, gladiis bis acutis  
125 undique circumsepta, sed statim frangitur et Georgius illaesus penitus  
invenitur. Tunc iratus jussit eum in sar|tiginem [263] plumbo  
liquefacto plenam projici, qui facto signo crucis in eam intravit, sed  
virtute Dei coepit in ea quasi in balneo refoveri. Quod videns  
Dacianus cogitavit eum emollire blanditiis, quem minis superare non  
130 poterat vel tormentis, dixitque illi: vides, fili Georgi, quanta  
mansuetudinis sunt Diī nostri, qui te blasphemum tam patienter  
sustinent, parati nihilominus, si converti volueris, indulgere. Age ergo,  
dilectissime fili, quod hortor, ut superstitione relictā Diis nostris  
sacrifices, ut magnos ab ipsis et a nobis consequaris honores. Cui  
135 Georgius subridens ait: ad quid a principio non magis mihi persuasisti  
blandis sermonibus quam tormentis? ecce paratus sum facere, quod  
hortaris.

Hac Dacianus permissione delusus laetus efficitur jussitque sub  
voce praeconis, ut omnes ad se convenirent et Georgium tamdiu  
140 reluctantem tandem cedere et sacrificare viderent. Ornata igitur tota  
civitate prae gaudio cum Georgius ydolorum templum sacrificaturus  
intraret et omnes ibidem gaudentes adstarent, flexis genibus dominum  
exoravit, ut templum cum ydolis sic omnino destrueret, quatenus ad  
sui laudem et populi conversionem nihil de eo penitus remaneret,  
145 statimque ignis de coelo descendens templum cum Diis et



- sacerdotibus concremavit terraque se aperiens omnes eorum reliquias deglutivit. Hic exclamat Ambrosius in praefatione dicens: Georgius fidelissimus miles Christi, dum christianitatis professio silentio tegeretur, solus inter christicolas intrepidus Dei filium est confessus.
- 150 Cui et tantam constantiam gratia divina concessit, ut et tyrannicae potestatis praecepta contemneret et innumerabilium non formidaret tormenta poenarum. O felix et inclitus domini proelior! Quem non solum temporalis regni blanda non persuasit promissio, sed persecutore deluso simulacrorum ejus portenta in abyssum dejecit.
- 155 Haec Ambrosius.

- Hoc audiens Dacianus Georgium ad se adduci fecit eique dixit: quae malitia tua, pessime hominum, quod tantum facinus commisisti? Cui Georgius: ne credas, rex, sic esse, sed mecum perge et iterum me immolare vide. Cui ille: intelligo fraudem tuam, quia vis me facere
- 160 absorberi, sicut templum et Deos meos absorberi fecisti. Cui Georgius: dic mihi miser, Dii tui, qui se juvare non potuerunt, quomodo te juvabunt? Iratus rex nimis dixit Alexandriae uxori suae: deficiens moriar, quia ab hoc homine me superatum cerno. Cui illa: tyranne crudelis et car|nifex [264], numquid non dixi tibi, ne saepius
- 165 christianis molestus esses, quia Deus eorum pro ipsis pugnaret, et nunc scias, me velle fieri christianam. Stupefactus rex ait: heu pro dolor! numquid et tu es seducta? Fecitque eam per capillos suspendi et flagellis durissime caedi. Quae dum caederetur, dixit Georgio: Georgi lumen veritatis, quo, putes, perveniam nondum aqua baptismi renata?
- 170 Cui Georgius: nihil haesites, filia, quia sanguinis tui effusio baptismus tibi reputabitur et corona. Tunc illa orans ad dominum emisit spiritum. Huic attestatur Ambrosius in praefatione dicens: ob hoc et gentium regina Persarum crudeli a viro dictata sententia nondum baptismi gratium consecuta gloriosae passionis meruit palmam, unde
- 175 nec dubitare possumus, quod rosea perfusa sanguinis unda reseratas poli januas ingredi meruit regnumque possidere coelorum. Haec Ambrosius.

- Sequenti vero die Georgius accepit sententiam, ut per totam civitatem traheretur, postmodum capite puniretur. Oravit autem ad
- 180 dominum, ut quicumque ejus imploraret auxilium, petitionis suae consequeretur effectum, divina autem vox ad eum venit, quod sic fieret, ut oravit. Completa oratione capitis abscissione martirium consummavit sub Dyocletiano et Maximiano, qui coeperunt circa



- annum domini CCLXXXVII, Dacianus autem cum de loco, in quo  
185 decollatus est, ad palatium rediret, ignis de coelo cecidit et ipsum cum  
ministris suis consumsit. Refert Gregorius Turonensis, quod, cum  
quidam quasdam reliquias sancti Georgii deferrent et in quodam  
oratorio hospitati fuissent, mane nullatenus capsam movere potuerunt,  
donec ibidem reliquiarum particulam dimiserunt.
- 190 Legitur in hystoria Antiochena, quod, cum christiani ad  
obsidendum Jerusalem pergerent, quidam juvenis speciosissimus  
cuidam sacerdoti apparuit, qui sanctum Georgium ducem  
christianorum se esse dicens monuit, ut ejus reliquias secum in  
Jerusalem deportarent et ipse cum iis esset. Cum autem Jerusalem  
195 obsedissent et Saracenis resistentibus per scalas adscendere non  
auderent, beatus Georgius albis armis indutus et cruce rubra insignitus  
apparuit innuens, ut post se securi adscenderent et civitatem  
obtinerent. Qui hoc animati civitatem ceperunt et Saracenos  
occiderunt.

## Appendix 3

### Jacobus de Voragine: *De sancto Sebastiano*

#### Cap. XXIII. De sancto Sebastiano

Sebastianus dictus est a sequens et beatitudo, et astim, quod est civitas, et ana, quod est sursum, quasi sequens beatitudinem civitatis summae et supernae gloriae, hoc est, eam possidens et acquirens: et hoc quintuplici denario secundum Augustinum, paupertate regnum,  
5 dolore gaudium, labore requiem, ignominia gloriam, morte vitam. Vel dicitur Sebastianus a basto. Nam miles Christus, equus ecclesia, bastum sive sella Sebastianus, quo mediante Christus in ecclesia militavit et de multis martiribus victoriam obtinuit. Vel Sebastianus interpretatur vallatus vel circumiens: vallatus, quia sagittis tamquam  
10 hericius fui circumdatus, circumiens, quia omnes martires circumibat et omnes confortabat.

Sebastianus vir christianissimus, Narbonensis genere, civis [109] Mediolanensis Dyocletiano et Maximiano imperatoribus adeo carus erat, ut principatum ei primae cohortis traderent et suo adspectui  
15 juberent semper adstare. Hic militarem chlamidem ad hoc tantum ferebat, ut christianorum animas, quas in tormentis videbat deficere, confortaret.

Dum autem praeclarissimi viri Marcellianus et Marcus gemini fratres pro fide Christi decollari deberent, ad eos parentes adveniunt,  
20 ut ipsorum animos a suo proposito revocarent. Advenit ergo mater et soluto capite scissisque vestibus uberibusque ostensis aiebat: o perdulces filii, circumdat me inaudita miseria et intolerabilis luctus. Heu me miseram, amitto filios meos ad mortem ultro tendentes, quos si mihi hostes auferrent, per media sequerer bella raptores, si violenta  
25 judicia concluderent carcere, irrumperem moritura. Novum hoc pereundi genus est, in quo carnifex rogatur, ut feriat; vita optatur, ut pereat; mors invitatur, ut veniat. Novus hic luctus, nova miseria, in qua natorum juvenus sponte amittitur et parentum miseranda cogitur senectus, ut vivat.

30 Haec dicente matre pater senior manibus adducitur servorum et capite adperso pulvere huiusmodi voces dabat ad coelum: ad mortem

ultro proficiscentibus filiis valedicturus adveni, ut quae meae  
supulturae paraveram, filiorum sepulturis infelix expendam. O filii  
mei, baculus senectutis et geminum meorum viscerum lumen cur sic  
35 mortem diligitis? Venite hic, juvenes, flete super juvenes sponte  
pereuntes. Venite huc senes et mecum super filios meos plangite,  
accedite huc patres et prohibete, ne talia patiamini. Deficite plorando  
oculi mei, ne videam filios meos gladio caedi.

Haec dicente patre adveniunt conjuges adspectibus eorum  
40 proprios filios offerentes atque ejulando clamantes: quibus nos  
dimittitis, qui erunt horum infantium domini, quis vestras largas  
dividet possessiones? Heu quam ferrea pectora, quia parentes  
despicitis, amicos respuitis, uxores abjicitis, filios abdicatis et vos  
carnificibus spontaneos exhibetis.

45 Inter hoc autem coeperunt virorum corda mollescere. Tunc  
sanctus Sebastianus, qui ibi aderat, erumpens in medium dixit: o  
fortissimi milites Christi nolite per misera blandimenta coronam  
deponere sempiternam. Sed et parentibus dixit: nolite timere, non  
separabuntur a vobis, sed vadunt in coelum vobis parare sydereas  
50 mansiones. Nam ab initio mundi haec vita in se sperantes fefellit, se  
exspectantes decepit, de se praesumentes irrisit et ita nullum omnino  
certum reddidit, ut omnibus probetur esse mentita. Vita haec admonet  
furem ut rapiat, iracundum ut saeviat, mendacem ut [110] fallat. Ipsa  
imperat crimina, jubet facinora, suadet injusta, haec autem persecutio,  
55 quam hic patimur, hodie excandescit et cras evanescit, hodie  
exardescit et cras refrigescit, sub una hora inducitur et sub una hora  
excluditur. Dolor autem aeternus renovatur, ut saeviat, augmentatur,  
ut exurat, inflammatur ut puniat. In amore ergo martirii nostros jam  
suscitemus affectus. Ibi enim dyabolus se vincere existimat, qui dum  
60 capit, captus est, dum tenet, tentus est, dum vincit, victus est, et dum  
torquet, torquetur, dum jugulat, occisus est, et dum insultat, irrisus est.

Igitur dum beatus Sebastianus haec ex ore proferret, subito per  
unam fere horam a splendore nimio de coelo descendente illuminatus  
est et sub illo splendore pallio candidissimo amictus et ab angelis  
65 septem clarissimis circumdatus. Juvenis etiam apparuit juxta eum dans  
ei pacem et dicens: tu semper mecum eris. Cum autem beatus  
Sebastianus haec et his similia praedicaret, Zoe uxor Nicostrati, in  
cujus domo sancti custodiebantur, quae loquelam amiserat, pedibus  
ejus provoluta nutibus veniam postulabat. Tunc Sebastianus ait: si ego

70 Christi servus sum et si vera sunt omnia, quae ex ore meo haec mulier  
audivit et credidit, aperiatur os ejus, qui aperuit os Zachariae prophetae  
sui. Ad hanc vocem mulier exclamavit: benedictus sermo oris tui et  
benedicti qui omnibus, quae locutus es, credunt. Vidi enim angelum  
librum tenentem ante te, ubi omnia, quae dixisti, scripta erant.

75 Vir autem ejus hoc audiens procidit ad pedes sancti Sebastiani sibi  
postulans indulgeri statimque absolvens martires rogabat, ut liberi  
abirent. Qui dixerunt, nullatenus se deserturos victoriam, quam  
cepissent. Tantam igitur gratiam et virtutem verbis sancti Sebastiani  
dominus contulerat, quod non solum Marcellianum et Marcum in  
80 martirii constantia roboravit, sed etiam patrem eorum nomine  
Tranquillinum et matrem cum multis aliis ad fidem convertit, quos  
omnes Policarpus presbiter baptizavit.

Tranquillinus autem morbo gravissimo laborans mox ut baptizatus  
est, sanitatem recepit. Praefectus autem urbis Romae, qui et ipse  
85 morbo gravissimo laborabat, rogavit Tranquillinum, ut ad se adduceret  
eum, qui sibi sanitatem dederat. Cum ergo ad eum venissent  
Policarpus presbiter et Sebastianus et ipse eos rogaret, ut etiam  
sanitatem reciperet, dixit ei Sebastianus, ut prius ydola abnegaret et  
confringendi ea sibi potestatem traderet et sic sanitatem reciperet. Cui  
90 Chromatius praefectus diceret, quod servi sui hoc facerent et non ipse,  
dixit Sebastianus: timidi Deos suos confringere formidant, sed et si  
dyabolus hac occasione eos laederet, dicerent eos infideles esse ob hoc  
laesos, quod Deos suos confringerent. Sicque Policarpus et  
Sebastianus accincti plus quam CC ydola confregerunt.

95 Post hoc autem dixerunt Chromatio: cum nobis ydola  
confringentibus sanitatem recipere debuisti nec recepisti, certum est,  
quia aut infidelitatem nondum abjecisti aut aliqua ydola reservasti.  
Tunc indicavit se habere thalamum, in quo erat omnis disciplina  
stellarum, pro quo pater suus plus quam ducenta pondera auri  
100 expenderat et per quem futura omnia praevidebat. Cui Sebastianus:  
quamdiu hoc integrum habueris, te ipsum integrum non habebis.

Cumque ad hoc ille assentiret, Tiburtius ejus filius, juvenis  
egregius dixit: non patiar opus destrui tam praeclarum, sed ne paternae  
sanitati videar esse contrarius, duo clibani accendantur, ut, si destructo  
105 opere pater meus sanitatem non receperit, ambo vivi concrementur.  
Cui Sebastianus: sic fiat, ut locutus es. Dum igitur illa confringerentur,  
angelus praefecto apparuit et sibi a domino Jesu sanitatem redditam

nuntiavit statimque sanus effectus cucurrit post eum, ut ejus pedes oscularetur. Qui eum prohibuit ex eo, quod baptismum nondum  
110 receperat, sicque ipse et Tiburtius filius ejus et mille CCCC de ejus familia baptizati sunt.

Zoe autem ab infidelibus tenta et diu cruciata emisit spiritum. Quod cum audiisset Tranquillinus, prorupit et dixit: feminae nos ad coronam praecedunt, ut quid vivimus? Ipse autem post paucos dies  
115 lapidatus est.

Sanctus autem Tiburtius super prunas allatas jubetur aut incensum Diis imponere aut super istas nudis plantis incedere. Qui sibi signum crucis faciens constanter super ipsas nudis ingressus est plantis dicens: videtur mihi, quod super roseos flores incedam in nomine domini  
120 nostri Jesu Christi. Cui Fabianus praefectus dixit: quis ignorat magicam artem Christum vos docuisse? Cui Tiburtius: obmutesce infelix, quia non es dignus nomen tam sanctum et tam mellifluum nominare.

Tunc iratus praefectus jussit eum decollari. Marcellianus autem et  
125 Marcus stipiti affiguntur, cumque fuissent affixi, psallentes dicebant: ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habere fratres in unum etc. Quibus praefectus: infelices deponite amentiam et vos ipsos liberate. Cui illi: nunquam tam bene epulati sumus, utinam tamdiu sic nos esse permittas, quamdiu corporis tegimur indumento. Tunc praefectus  
130 jussit eos lanceis per latera transverberari et sic martirium consummaverunt.

Post hoc praefectus Dyocletiano imperatori de Sebastiano suggestit, quem ad se vocans dixit: ego te inter primos in palatio meo semper habui et tu contra salutem meam et Deorum injuriam  
135 hactenus latuisti. Cui Sebastianus: pro salute tua Christum semper colui et pro statu Romani imperii Deum, qui in coelis est, semper adoravi.

Tunc Dyocletianus jussit eum in medium campum ligari et a militibus sagittari, qui ita eum sagittis impleverunt, ut quasi hericius  
140 vidiretur, et aestimantes illum mortuum abierunt, qui intra paucos dies liberatus, stans super gradum palatii imperatores venientes de malis, quae christianis inferebant, dure redarguit. Dixerunt imperatores: istene est Sebastianus, quem diu sagittis interfici jusseramus? Cui Sebastianus: ad hoc me dominus resuscitare dignatus est, ut  
145 conveniam vos et redarguam vos de malis, quae Christi famulis

irrogatis. Tunc imperator tamdiu eum fustigari jussit, donec spiritum exhalaret, fecitque corpus ejus in cloacam projici, ne a christianis pro martire coleretur. Sanctus autem Sebastianus sequenti nocte sanctae Luciae apparuit et corpus ejus sibi revelavit et, ut juxta vestigia apostolorum illud sepeliret, praecepit, quod et factum est. Passus est autem sub Dyocletiano et Maximiano imperatoribus, qui coeperunt circa annos domini CLXXVII.

Refert Gregorius in primo libro dialogorum, quod quaedam mulier in Tuscia nuper nupta cum ad dedicationem ecclesiae sancti Sebastiani ab aliis invitate esset, in ipsa nocte, qua sequenti die ire debebat, carnis voluptate stimulata a viro suo se abstinere non potuit. Facto autem mane magis erubescens vultum hominum quam Dei illuc profecta est. Mox autem ut oratorium, ubi erant reliquiae sancti Sebastiani, ingressa est, dyabolus eam arripuit et coram omnibus vexare coepit. Tunc presbiter illius ecclesiae pallium altaris arripiens inde eam operuit, sed dyabolus statim ipsum presbiterum invasit.

Duxerunt autem eam amici sui ad incantatores, ut suis incantationibus dyabolum effugarent. Sed mox, dum incantaretur, judicio Dei legio daemonum, id est VI millia sexcenti et LXVI in eam ingressi ipsam acrius vexare coeperunt. Quidam autem vir, nomine Fortunatus sanctitate conspicuus suis precibus eam sanavit.

Legitur quoque in gestis Longobardorum, quod tempore Gumberti regis Italia tota tanta peste percussa est, ut vix unus alterum sufficeret sepelire, et haec pestis maxime Romae ac Papiae grassabatur. Tunc visibiliter bonus angelus multis apparuit malo angelo sequente et venabulum ferenti praecipiens, ut percuteret ac caedem faceret. Quotiens autem aliquam domum percutiebat, tot inde mortui efferebantur. Tunc cuidam divinitus revelatum est, quod nequaquam haec pestis cessaret, donec sancto Sebastiano altare Papiae construeretur. Quod quidem constructum est in ecclesia sancti Petri, qui dicitur ad vincula; quo facto statim cessavit illa quassatio. Et illuc a Roma reliquiae sancti Sebastiani sunt delatae. Ambrosius in praefatione sic ait: beati martiris Sebastiani pro confessione nominis tui, domine venerabilis, sanguis effusus simul et tua mirabilia manifestat, quod perficis in infirmitate virtutem, et vestris studiis das profectum et infirmis a prece praestas auxilium.

### Appendix 3

#### Jacobus de Voragine: *De sancto Eustachio*

Cap. CLXI (156). De sancto Eustachio

Eustachius ante Placidus vocabatur. Hic erat magister militum Trajani imperatoris. Erat autem operibus misericordiae valde assiduus, sed tamen ydolorum cultui deditus. Habebat autem conjugem ejusdem ritus et misericordiae existentem duosque filios procreavit, quos juxta  
5 suam magnificentiam magnifice educari fecit, et quia operibus misericordiae sedulus insistebat, ad viam veritatis meruit illustrari. Quadam enim die, cum venationi insisteret, gregem cervorum reperit, inter quos unum caeteris speciosiorum et majorem conspexit, qui ab aliorum societate discedens in silvam vastiorem prosiliit. Verum aliis  
10 militibus circa cervos reliquos occupatis Placidus hunc toto nisu insequitur et ipsum capere nitebatur. Quem cum totis viribus insequeretur, cervus tandem super quandam rupis altitudinem conscendit et Placidus appropians, qualiter capi posset, animo sedulus revolvebat. Qui cum cervum diligenter consideraret, vidit inter cornua  
15 ejus formam sacrae crucis supra solis claritatem fulgentem et imaginem Jesu Christi, qui per os cervi, sicut olim per asinam Balaam, sic ei locutus est dicens: o Placide, quid me persequeris? Ego tui gratia in hoc animali tibi apparui, ego sum Christus, quem tu ignorans colis; elemosinae tuae coram me adscenderunt et ob hoc veni et per hunc,  
20 quem venabaris, cervum ego quoque te ipse venarer.

Alii tamen dicunt, quod ipsa imago, quae inter cornua cervi apparuit, haec verba protulit. Haec audiens Placidus nimio timore correptus de equo in terram procidit et post unam horam ad se rediens de terra surrexit et ait: revela mihi, quod loqueris, et sic credam  
25 in te. Et ait Christus: ego, Placide, sum Christus, qui coelum et terram creavi, qui lucem oriri feci et a tenebris divisi, qui tempora et dies et annos constitui, qui hominem de limo terrae formavi, qui propter salutem humani generis in terris in carne apparui, qui crucifixus et supultus tertia die resurrexi.

30 Haec audiens Placidus iterum in terram decidens ait: credo, domine, quia tu es, qui omnia fecisti et qui errantes convertis. Et dixit

ad eum dominus: si credis, vade ad episcopum civitatis, et te baptizari facias. Cui Placidus: vis, domine, ut haec eadem uxori meae et filiis nuntiem, ut et ipsi pariter in te credant? Cui dominus: renuntia illis, ut  
35 et ipsi pariter tecum mudentur; tu quoque die crastina huc venias, ut tibi rursus appaream et, quae futura sunt, plenius tibi pandam.

Cum ergo domum venisset et haec uxori in lecto renuntiasset, exclamavit uxor ejus dicens: domine mi, et ego eum transacta nocte vidi dicentem mihi, cras tu et vir tuus et filii tui ad me venietis, et nunc  
40 cognovi, quoniam ipse est Jesus Christus. Perrexerunt igitur ad episcopum Romae media nocte, qui eos cum magno gaudio baptizavit et Placidum Eustachium vocavit, ejus uxorem Theospitem et filios ejus Agapetum et Theospitum.

Mane facto Eustachius, sicut prius, ad venationem processit et  
45 prope locum veniens milites suos quasi sub obtentu investigandae venationis dispersit stansque in loco formam primae visionis aspexit, cadensque in faciem suam dixit: supplico, domine, ut manifestes, quae promiseras servo tuo. Cui dominus: beatus es, Eustachi, qui accepisti lavacrum gratiae meae, quia modo dyabolum superasti modo eum, qui  
50 te deceperat, conculcasti, modo apparebit fides tua. Dyabolus enim eo, quod ipsum dereliqueris, contra te saeve armatur, oportet igitur te multa sustinere, ut accipias coronam victoriae; oportet te multa pati, ut de alta saeculi vanitate humilieris et rursus in spiritualibus divitiis exalteris. Tu ergo ne deficias nec ad gloriam pristinam respicias, quia  
55 per tentationes oportet te alterum Job demonstrari. Sed cum humiliatus fueris, veniam ad te et in gloriam pristinam restituam te, dic ergo, si modo tentationes vis accipere aut in fine vitae.

Dicit ei Eustachius: domine, si ita fieri oportet, modo nobis tentationes accidere jube, sed virtutem patientiae tribue. Cui dominus:  
60 constans esto, quia gratia mea custodiet animas vestras. Sicque dominus in coelum adscendit et Eustachius domum rediens haec uxori suae nuntiavit.

Post paucos igitur dies mors pestifera cunctos servos et ancillas ipsius invasit et universos occidit; deinde post aliquod tempus omnes  
65 equi et omnia ejus pecora subito interierunt. Quidam autem scelesti ejus depredationem videntes et per noctem in domum ejus irruentes cuncta, quae repererunt, asportarunt et domum totam auro et argento et rebus aliis spoliarunt et ipse cum uxore sua et filiis gratias agens nocte aufugit nudus. Qui ruborem verentes Aegyptum pergebant,



70 totaque ejus possessio per rapinam malorum ad nihilum est redacta.  
Rex autem totusque senatus pro magistro militum tam strenuo  
multum dolebant, eo, quod de eo nullam indicium reperire poterant.

Cum autem iter agerent, appropinquaverunt mari et invenientes  
navem super eam navigare coeperunt. Videns autem dominus navis  
75 uxorem Eustachii, quae pulchra esset nimis, ipsam plurimum habere  
desideravit, cum vero transfretasset, naulum ab eo exigebat, non  
habentibus vero illis, unde solverent, jussit pro naulo detineri uxorem,  
volens illam secum habere. Quod ut Eustachius audivit, nullatenus  
assentire voluit. Diu vero eo contradicente innuit dominus nautis suis,  
80 ut eum in mare praecipitarent, ut sic uxorem suam habere possent.  
Quod cum Eustachius comperisset, uxorem iis tristis reliquit et duos  
infantes accipiens ingemiscens ibat ac dicens: vae mihi et vobis, quia  
mater vestra alienigenae marito tradita est.

Perveniensque ad quendam fluvium propter aquarum  
85 abundantiam non est ausus cum duobus filiis fluvium pertransire, sed  
uno circa ripam fluminis relicto alterum transportabat. Qui cum  
fluvium transvadasset, illum infantem, quem bajulaverat, super terram  
posuit et ad accipiendum alium festinavit. Cum autem circa medium  
fluminis pervenisset, ecce lupus concitus venit et infantem, quem  
90 deposuerat, rapiens in silvam aufugit. Qui de eo desperans ad alium  
festinavit. Sed cum abiret, leo venit et alium filium rapiens abiit. Unde  
eum consequi non valens, cum esset in medio fluminis, coepit  
plangere et capillos suos evellere, volens se in aquam projicere, nisi  
eum divina providentia continuisset.

95 Pastores autem, videntes leonem puerum vivum portantem, eum  
cum canibus insecuti sunt. Per divinam autem dispensationem leo  
puerum illaesum abiciens recessit. Quidam insuper aratores post  
lupum inclamantes alium puerum de ejus faucibus incolumem  
liberarunt, utrique vero, scilicet pastores et aratores, de uno vico  
100 fuerunt et penes se pueros nutrierunt.

Hoc vero Eustachius nesciebat, sed moerens ac plorans ibat  
dicens: hen mihi, quia ante, ut arbor, pollebam, sed modo penitus sum  
nudatus! Heu me, qui a multitudine militum circumdari solebam, sed  
nunc solus remanens nec filios sum concessus habere! Memini,  
105 domine, te mihi dixisse, quia oportet te tentari sicut Job, sed ecce plus  
aliquid in me fieri video, ille enim, etsi possessionibus nudatus fuerit,  
tamen stercus habuit, super quod sedere potuit, mihi autem nil horum

remansit; ille amicos sibi compatiētes habuit, ego immites feras habui, quae meos filios rapuerunt; illi uxor est relicta, a me vero ablata;  
110 da requiem, domine, tribulationibus meis et pone custodiam ori meo, ne declinet cor meum in verba malitiae et ejiciat a facie tua.

Et haec dicens cum lacrymis ad quendam vicum abiit et data sibi mercede agros illorum hominum per annos XV custodivit, filii autem ejus in altero vico educati sunt nec se esse fratres sciebant. Dominus  
115 autem uxorem Eustachii conservavit nec illam ille alienigena cognovit, sed potius eam intactam dimittens vitam finivit.

Imperator autem et populus Romanus plurimum ab hostibus molestabatur et recordatus Placidi, qui strenue contra ipsos hostes saepius dimicasset, de ejus subita mutatione plurimum tristabatur  
120 direxitque multos milites per diversas mundi partes, promittens omnibus, qui eum invenissent, multas divitias et honores.

Duo autem ex militibus, qui aliquando Placido ministraverant, ad ipsum vicum, in quo degebat, venerunt. Quos Placidus de agro venire considerans, eos ex incessu protinus recognovit et veniens in  
125 memoriam dignitatis suae perturbari coepit ac dicere: domine, sicut istos, qui aliquando mecum fuerunt, praeter spem vidi, sic dat, ut aliquando conjugem meam videre possim; nam de filiis scio, quod a feris comesti sunt. Venit autem ad eum vox dicens: confide, Eustachi, quia cito honorem tuum recuperabis et filios et uxorem recipies.

Cum igitur militibus obviasset, ipsi eum minime cognoverunt, cumque eum salutassent, quaesierunt, si aliquem peregrinum nomine Placidum cum uxore et duobus filiis cognosceret. Ille autem se nescire professus est. Ad preces tamen ejus in hospitio deverterunt et Eustachius iis serviebat. Et recolens pristinum statum suum lacrymas  
135 continere non poterat, egressus autem foras suam faciem lavit et iterum rediens iis serviebat. Illi vero considerantes ad invicem dicebant: quam similis est homo hic illi, quem quaerimus! Et respondens alter dixit: valde quidem similis est; consideremus igitur et si habet signum cicatricis in capite, quod sibi in bello accidit, ipse est.

E respicientes et signum videntes ipsum esse, quem quaerebant, protinus cognoverunt et insilientes et osculantes eum de uxore et filiis ejus sciscitati sunt. Qui dixit iis, quod filii mortui essent et uxor detenta. Vicini autem omnes quasi ad spectaculum concurrebant, dum milites virtutem ejus et primam gloriam praedicabant. Tunc milites  
145 praeceptum imperatoris ei exponunt et optimis vestimentis ipsum

induunt. Post iter XV dirum ad imperatorem devenerunt, qui ejus adventum audiens protinus eidem occurrit et ipsum videns in oscula ejus ruit. Narravit quoque omnibus cuncta, quae sibi per ordinem accidissent, statimque ad magisterium militiae trahitur et idem, quod  
150 prius, officium exercere compellitur.

Qui numeratis militibus et paucos contra tot hostes esse cognoscens jussit tirones colligi per omnes civitates et vicos. Contigit autem, illam terram, in qua filii ejus educati sunt, describi, ut darent duos tirones. Universi autem ejus loci incolae illos duos juvenes  
155 tamquam caeteris aptiores magistro militum consignarunt. Videns vero juvenes elegantes et morum honestate compositos, cum sibi plurimum placuissent, inter primos convivae suos ordinavit eosdem et sic profectus ad bellum subjectis hostibus exercitum suum tribus diebus in quodam loco, ubi uxor sua pauper hospita manebat, requiescere  
160 fecit. Illi vero duo adolescentes in tabernaculo matris suae nutu tamen Dei hospitati sunt, nescientes, quod mater sua esset, et sedentes circa meridiem et mutuo confabulantes exponebant sibi invicem de infantia sua. Mater vero eorum de contra sedens, quae ipsi referebant, attetius audiebat. Dicebat enim major minori: ego, dum infans essem, nihil  
165 aliud recolo, nisi quod pater meus magister militum erat et mater mea speciosa valde, duosque filios habuerunt, scilicet me et alium minorem me, qui et ipse speciosus valde erat, accipientesque nos egressi sunt de domo nocte ingressique sunt navem, nescio quo euntes. Cum autem de navi egrederemur, mater nostra, nescio quo modo, in mari relict  
170 est, pater vero noster portans nos duos flens pergebat perveniensque ad quendam fluvium transivit cum fratre meo juniore et me super ripam fluminis dereliquit. Cum autem reverteretur, ut me acciperet, lupus venit et illum infantem rapuit et, antequam ad me appropinquaret, leo de silva exiens me rapuit et in silvam deduxit.  
175 Pastores vero erenerunt me de ore leonis et nutritus sum in illa possessione, in qua et ipse scis, et non potui scire, quid factum sit de patre meo neque de infante.

Haec audiens minor coepit flere ac dicere: per Deum, ut audio, frater tuus sum ego, quoniam et qui me educaverant, hoc dicebant,  
180 quod de lupo eruius te. Et in amplexus ruentes osculabantur se invicem et fleverunt.

Audiens haec mater eorum et considerans, quod eventum suum ita seriatim dixissent, diu apud se tractavit, si illi filii sui essent, altera

autem die ad magistrum militum adiit et interpellavit eum dicens:  
185 deprecor te, domine, ut me ad patriam meam perducere jubeas, ego enim  
de terra Romanorum sum et peregrinus hic sum. Et haec dicens vidit in  
eo signa mariti sui et eum cognoscens, cum se iam continere non  
posset, procidit ad pedes suos et ait: precor te, domine, ut exponas  
mihi pristinam vitam tuam, puto enim, quod tu sis Placidus magister  
190 militum, qui alio nomine diceris Eustachius, quem Placidum salvator  
convertit, qui talem et talem tentationem sustinuit, et cui uxor, quae  
ego sum, in mari ablata fuit, quae tamen ab omni corruptione servata  
sum, qui et duos filios scilicet Agapetum et Theospitum habuit. Haec  
audiens Eustachius et ipsam diligenter considerans uxorem suam  
195 recognovit et lacrimatus prae gaudio ipsam osculatus est glorificans  
Deum, qui consolatur afflictos.

Tunc dicit ei uxor sua: domine, ubi sunt filii nostri? Et ait: a feris  
capti sunt. Et exposuit et, quomodo perdidit illos. Et illa: gratias  
agamus Deo, puto enim, quod, quemadmodum Deus donavit nobis,  
200 ut inveniremus nos invicem, donabit etiam recognoscere filios nostros.  
Et ille: dixi tibi, quod a feris capti sunt. Et illa: hesternam die sedens in  
horto audivi duos filios juvenes sic et sic suam infantiam exponentes  
et credo, quod filii nostri sunt; interroga igitur eos et dicent tibi.

Et convocans eos Eustachius et audiens ab eis infantiam suam  
205 recognovit, quod filii sui essent, et amplectentes eos ipse et mater  
super eorum colla plurimum flevit et crebrius eos osculabantur.  
Omnis igitur exercitus plurimum gaudebat et de inventione eorum et  
de victoria barbarorum.

Cum igitur rediret, contigit jam Trajanum obiisse et successisse ei  
210 pejorem in sceleribus Hadrianum, qui pro victoria obtenta et  
inventione uxoris, et filiorum magnifice eos suscepit et magnum  
convivium praeparavit. Altera autem die ad templum ydolorum  
processit, ut ibi sacrificaret pro victoria barbarorum. Videns vero  
imperator, quod Eustachius nec pro victoria nec pro inventione  
215 suorum sacrificare vellet, hortabatur, ut sacrificium immolaret. Cui  
Eustachius: ego Christum Deum colo et illi soli sacrifico.

Tunc imperator ira repletus ipsum cum uxore et filiis in arena  
statuit et leonem ferocem ad eos dimitti fecit. Accurrens vero leo et  
demisso capite quasi eos sanctos adorans ab eis humiliter recessit.  
220 Tunc imperator bovem aeneum incendi fecit et eos ibidem vivos mitti  
mandavit. Orantes igitur sancti et se domino commendantes bovem

intraverunt et ibidem domino spiritum reddiderunt, tertia autem die de  
bove sunt coram imperatore extracti. Ita penitus intacti inventi sunt,  
quod nec capillos nec quidquid eorum vapores incendii aliquatenus  
225 contigerunt. Christiani vero eorum corpora tulerunt et in loco  
celeberrimo recondentes ibidem oratorium construxerunt. Passi sunt  
autem sub Hadriano, qui coepit annum domini CXX calendis Novebr.  
vel secundum quosdam duodecim caldendis Octobr.

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